New Republic

MARCH 21, 1949

GERMAN POLICY AFTER DRAPER

By JAMES STEWART MARTIN

NATIONALIZED STEEL IS BRITAIN'S NEXT STEP

By G. D. H. COLE

THERE IS A REAL SHMOO

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ECONOMISTS AND THE BUDGET

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG positively oozed nobility last week in the Senate anti-filibuster debate. The GOP was on the spot. It wrote a blank check at Philadelphia last summer for civil-rights legislation. It put a plank unanimously in the platform. The question now was: Would it honor the draft? The New York *Herald Tribune*, voice of Eastern Republicanism, urged it to pay up: "The obligation is plainly on the Republicans in the Senate to stick by their principles and shun the Democratic dissenters." Taft said the same; after all, he is a man of principle. But Vandenberg showed the delighted Republican majority how they could have their principles and beat the Administration, too. Of its kind, it was a superb performance.

In a rich, melodious voice Vandenberg professed his love for the civil-rights program. Not content with that, he beat his breast metaphorically over the threat of filibuster to majority rule and demanded instant action to curb it. Then he bared the awful suffering in his great heart, that he—who believed in these two goals so passionately—could not go along in support of the Barkley ruling to bring them about because of a higher loyalty. This loyalty was to the Senate rules, which he likened to the Constitution. No, he said, the Senate must spurn reaching its goal by easy, simple, natural means; it must encounter head-on the willful Southerners and break them down in a brute struggle of physical endurance, even though this might wreck the rest of the Truman program.

Vandenberg delivered this nonsense with absolutely straight-faced conviction, and in the subsequent 46-to-41 Administration defeat it may well have been decisive. Democrats voted 25 to 23 to support the Barkley ruling; Republicans voted 23 to 16 against it. Administration leaders profess a determination to keep the fight going and we admit a sort of bloodthirsty desire to see them do it, even though it would probably tie the government into knots for months.

If there is one word that describes Vandenberg, it is "respectable." With such a tone Judge Gary must have told the steelworkers in 1919 that his heart bled at the 12-hour work day but Divine Law ordained it. In Vandenberg's long and noteworthy career this masterly obfuscation of the whole civil-rights-filibuster issue seemed to many observers the crowning intellectual achievement.

We think it is about time for a clinical examination of what happens to an election "mandate." How can voters have confidence in existing governmental machinery when they elect a President in November and find him impotent in March? What are the checks and balances by which popular will is defied? Well, here are a few.

First, the filibuster. Both party platforms pledged civil-rights legislation; a Senate minority, by physical force, can block the nation on this or any other legislation. Usually the mere threat of filibuster is enough. Behind that is the construction of the Senate itself. There is the Senate rotten-borough system under which Nevada and New York have the same vote, though one is 125 times bigger than the other. Then there is the fact that the Truman mandate didn't touch two-thirds of the Senators, since they weren't up for election. They won't all be processed for four more years.

Another self-defeating device is the seniority system for picking committee chairmen. Truman's election substituted Democratic dodos for GOP dodos in many committees. Take his tax bill: it goes to septuagenarian chairman George in the Senate, and octo-

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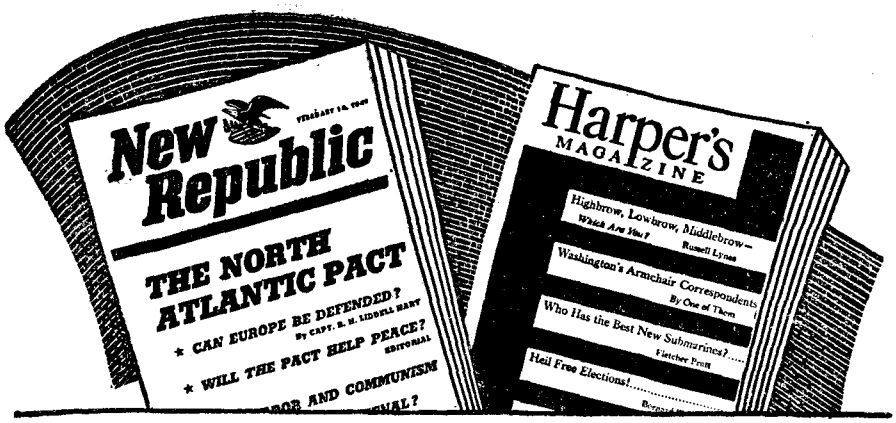

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genarian Doughton in the House, both of whom oppose it. Rankin, mortal enemy of the Administration, becomes chairman of the House Veterans' Committee and cackles as he introduces a reckless veterans'-pension bill that will cause maximum embarrassment.

Now we turn to another feature. Truman was elected by the whole nation but congressmen weren't; they were elected on a composite of local issues often extremely parochial. The Constitution does not require a congressman to come from his own district, but tradition requires him to, and to be a local rather than a national representative. And through and above everything else is the unique, air-tight separation of the American executive and legislative which almost automatically makes them rivals, particularly after patronage has been distributed. Well, these are some of the reasons why the nation can get the President it wants without really having accomplished much. Fortunately in this case Truman is something of a fighter and is by no means through.

This column suggested the probability of a coal stoppage some months ago. The fact is that modern mining produces more coal than we can normally use and the balance is struck by a shutdown or "strike" that takes the place of old-fashioned seasonal layoffs and wage-cutting. Today stockpiles are at record-breaking proportions.

Old Eyebrows, whose need for public attention is almost pathological, has called a dramatic two weeks' stoppage and has directed his ire at Dr. James Boyd, director, Bureau of Mines, of whom the public was hitherto unaware but who turns out to be serving without pay because of one of those preposterous "senatorial-courtesy" incidents blocking confirmation (*i.e.,* he is "personally obnoxious" to some Senator). Lewis' action will probably bring quick Boyd confirmation, help use up surplus coal, keep up the coal price and also miners' wages, cause an immense amount of justified anger at Lewis' arrogance, and very likely make Taft-Hartley Act repeal harder.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 12, ISSUE 1790, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 21, 1949 **New Republic**

NO TIME TO GO FISHING

TWENTY-THREE DEMOCRATS have joined with 23 Republicans to seize control of the Senate. The supposed Senate majority of eight—54 Democrats to 42 Republicans—by which the Truman Administration won on November 2 has gone glimmering for lack of organization, leadership and strong handling of the dissident Southerners. Whether the President can regain command of the situation—even on general foreign and domestic matters—will depend on the White House's showing a much more realistic attitude.

The Senate of the United States has voted to retain the power of a minority of its members indefinitely to thwart the will of the majority. It has voted to put states' wrongs ahead of civil rights. It has refused to accept a broader interpretation of its rules which, with a sound basis in precedent and law, would have provided a way out of the impasse.

In ruling that a motion to invoke cloture was applicable to a motion to take up a bill as well as to a pending bill itself, Vice President Barkley opened a path which any reasonable man could have followed with honor. Backward Republicans, who as much as any Southern Democrats wished to perpetuate the undemocratic practices President Truman's civil-rights program was devised to eliminate, cloaked their refusal to follow where Barkley led with technical excuses they believed would deceive the voters.

The 41-to-46 vote by which the Administration lost the test on taking up civil-rights legislation obviously was not a vote on the constitutional powers of a Senate presiding officer to reinterpret the rules of that body, as the Republican leadership tried to pretend. Nor was it merely a revelation of who was and who was not, in the final analysis, in favor of finding a way to act on civil-rights guarantees. The issue was really the Truman Fair Deal program and how the four basic groups which constitute the Senate of the 81st Congress intend to line up on it throughout this session. For the short range, at least, Southern Democrats have bound themselves to vote Republican; and a handful of independents on the Republican side have indicated that they will have an open mind about supporting Administration measures. Six Democrats from the Middle South have shown that they are not to be counted on in the pinches. And the hard core of regular Republicans is clearly as hard as before.

Since so much is involved in the decision against moving toward majority rule in the Senate, something may be gained for once in looking backwards.

American history is singularly lacking in instances of Presidents who have started fights, gone fishing, and won. Harry Truman had no reason to believe that he would be the exception. There is no way to prove that Truman's presence in Washington, in close contact with his Senate leaders, would have changed the outcome. But a chief executive on the job might have had considerable influence with the Northern and Western Democrats who deserted their party in the voting.

We believe that, had the President stayed at his post, the result could have been different. Had he even ensured good staff work in carrying out his general order to break the filibuster, the showdown vote could have gone to the Democrats.

It was not until 24 hours before Barkley's crucial ruling that there was any great activity in and around the White House. During that time the direct telephone line to the Key West cottage was kept hot with full reports on the filibuster. The new Executive Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, William Boyle, ran up a large phone bill asking Democratic state organizations to put pressure on the hold-out Senators. But no one in Washington was delivering ultimatums in the President's name. And he did not choose to speak for himself.

Even the Democratic National Chairman, Senator J. Howard McGrath, had the grace, when the votes were all in, to admit his party's failure. "The responsibility and the shame of what the Senate has done tonight are bipartisan," he said. "As for our Southern colleagues, we must now ask ourselves seriously: are we brothers in the same party seeking the same goals, or are we going in opposite directions?"

It seems incredible that a man in McGrath's position as the head of a party which won only over formal Dixiecrat opposition could be so tardy in facing up to the facts of political life.

But even taking into account this monumental backwardness and naïveté, Chairman McGrath was still

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leagues ahead of Republican leaders in regard to the truth.

The GOP even now is attempting to hide its record on the recent vote behind the mass of technicalities piled up by Senator Vandenberg and the 22 other Republicans who voted with him to prolong the filibuster. They maintain, with straight faces, that the future of civil rights has not been in question and that all they have been doing throughout the rules-reform controversy is to defend the Constitution.

The Lord High Executioner of the present effort to enact the civil-rights program was the ever plausible Arthur Vandenberg. Vandenberg, the Great Internationalist, swung the votes to perpetuate conditions for which America stands in shame before the free world and is ridiculed by Communist countries. He was all for revision of the rules, but only by methods which effectively prohibited any revision. He gave his colleagues a happy rationalization for betraying the 1948 Republican platform. "The rules of the Senate are as important to equity and order in the Senate as is the Constitution to the life of the Republic," Vandenberg said. ". . . our attitude toward the integrity of the rules, and not our attitude toward cloture, is the one and only question legitimately at issue on the approaching roll call." His doctrine would be instantly dismissed by the most tory of lawyers It is the antithesis of democracy to all who recognize that law is a developing instrument in the service of a better life.

The manner in which Republican votes on sustaining Vice President Barkley's ruling were cast was cynical in the highest degree. A shift of only three votes would presumably have carried the day for the Democrats on the test appeal (41-46) from the cloture ruling. But the likelihood is that the Republicans commanded a larger reserve of votes which could have been thrown in had they been needed. The Republican Senators up for reëlection next year who went on record against stopping the filibuster are, in the majority, from states comparatively free of organized support for the civil-rights program, such as South Dakota, North Dakota, Kansas, Colorado and Iowa.

Eleven of the 24 Republican members of the present Senate who had previously signed one or the other of the cloture petitions—to bring up the FEPC in 1946, or to bring up the anti-poll-tax bill last August—refused to put their names on the petition to bring up the civil-rights program this time. The Republican vote gives every appearance of having been weighed and measured to the last half-gram, divided up between Vandenberg and Taft with utmost care so as to ensure defeat of the attempted rules reform and also to protect the largest possible number of Republican Senators representing large industrial states against future charges of opposing civil rights. So less than 50 percent of Republican Senators stood by a unanimously adopted platform plank.

Two Southern Democrats, Claude Pepper of Florida and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, stood with the national party. Two border-state Democrats, Kerr of Oklahoma and Chapman of Kentucky, and four Western Democrats, Hayden and McFarland of Arizona, McCarran of Nevada, and Gillette of Iowa, deserted.

Fourteen of the 46 Senators who voted against consideration of civil rights are up for reëlection in 1950, seven Republicans and seven Democrats. Walter White of the NAACP has already declared these men to be primary targets for next year. Senator Lucas has formally handed down the challenge. Those men who voted against civil rights "cannot convince the people of the country that they rested their position on a technicality," the Senator predicts.

Meanwhile, to salvage his program the President must give central direction to the work of his party through a legislative staff. To supplement the inept and indecisive leadership of Scott Lucas, he should call on the wisdom and courage of Barkley wherever possible. He should make it clear that the Senate has only delayed consideration of the civil-rights program and that it will be held in session until the legislation is passed.

THE WEEK

SECRETARY JOHNSON

If a man can be judged by the kind of enemies he has made, it may be reasonable to assume that Louis A. Johnson, the President's choice as a successor to Defense Secretary Forrestal, will turn out to be one of Truman's wisest appointments. So far, the appointment has met a mixed reception, friendly in the press, apprehensive in the Pentagon. Liberals have been inclined to adopt the Pentagon view for different reasons, fearing that Johnson, a former national commander of the American Legion and more recently a director of I. G. Farben's key subsidiary in the American chemical industry, will be out of step with the Fair Deal.

To understand the enmities he has aroused, however, it is best to look back a decade at his record as Assistant Secretary of War. In the light

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of subsequent history, that record is an impressive one. It was Johnson who, after Munich, insisted that plans must be drawn for mobilizing American industry for wartime production, a program highly unpopular with the New Dealers of the time. It was Johnson who personally surveyed our railway system to estimate how it could meet the demands of wartime conditions. It was Johnson who insisted key industries must be given token war-material orders so that they could practise production. It was Johnson, with President Roosevelt's strong backing, who demanded mass production in the airplane and munitions industries.

At the time Johnson was in conflict with his boss, War Secretary Harry Woodring, and their feud made a deep split in the old War Department. The stuffier Army men, many holdovers from the last war, were deeply offended by the vigor with which Johnson pursued his demands and by their loss of authority. Johnson was no respecter of rank or reputation. He believed war was coming and he had the foresight to know that it would be on a massive scale involving the use of citizen armies in both Europe and Asia. Since he had President Roosevelt's confidence, Johnson could bypass officials, both military and civilian, who stood in his path. There is no quicker way to make enemies in Washington. The brass detested him as an outsider upsetting their tight little system. The pacifists considered him a warmonger. The isolationists accused him of trying to involve us in foreign conflict. Shortsighted New Dealers felt that his plans would disrupt prospects of further progressive legislation.

There are other phases of his career which need fuller explanation. After he retired as Assistant Secretary of War, Johnson was named president of the General Dye Stuff Corporation, a German concern in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian. At about the same time he became a director of the I. G. Farben subsidiary, General Aniline and Film Corporation.

In view of that it is logical to ask, as does I. F. Stone writing in the New York *Evening Post,* whether Johnson will have completely unbiased views on the future of German industry. Does he favor returning the drug and chemical industries to their former owners? Would he allow Germany's war potential to be rebuilt? Johnson's appointment to positions under the Alien Property Custodian were political plums, to make up for not becoming Secretary of War, a job to which he had some just claims. As for his authority over German policy, he no doubt will have some influence, but the President fortunately is now in the process of removing German policy-making from the military domain and putting it into civilian hands. Within the State Department a new section is being created to deal with Germany, and the closed corporation of General Clay, former Army Undersecretary William Draper and Assistant Secretary of State Charles Saltzman will be no more.

The new Secretary's present and future are of course more important than his past and the quality of the staff he takes with him to the Pentagon will furnish an index to the character of his regime. If he fills his undersecretaryships with second-rate American Legion politicians, the Army's apprehensions will seem to have been borne out.

But his record of hard-headed action suggests that he may be just the man to knock the three services into one truly unified organization and plan the nation's defenses on a sensible basis.

THE SILENT DEBATE

NEW RED-CONTROL BILLS

The arrest of a Department of Justice employee on charges of espionage has hastened the introduction of a new set of anti-Communist bills by both Democrats and Republicans despite

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President Truman's attempts to minimize the Red hysteria.

Senator Karl E. Mundt (R, S.D.) and Representative Richard M. Nixon (R, Calif.) have introduced new "tougher, tighter" bills to curtail Communist activities in this country. The measures include new sections outlawing "peacetime espionage," make the statute of limitations inapplicable to treasonable acts in time of peace, and require the registration and publication of the names of all members of the US Communist Party. Last year's Mundt-Nixon bill, which passed the House 319 to 58 but failed to reach the Senate floor for a vote, was questioned on the grounds of constitutionality by the Department of Justice.

Section 13 of the new Mundt-Nixon bill would establish a Subversive Activities Commission composed of three members appointed by the President (one each from the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, and the Military Establishment) to work with the Attorney General in enforcing the bill's provisions. The "peacetime espionage" provision, according to Mundt, "requires the Communist Party to sever its umbilical cord with Russia or refrain from acts designated to establish totalitarianism in this country."

At the time the Mundt-Nixon bills were being introduced last week, Francis Walter (D, Pa.), a new member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, offered an amendment to the Nationality Act of 1940 which provides that "any person who is a national of the United States, whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his nationality by participating through membership in a Communist political party." Under Section 401 of the Nationality Act, persons are deprived of citizenship by acts or declaration of allegiance to a foreign state or by performing duties for a foreign state.

While the Administration may not introduce any Communist-control bill officially, Walter indicated that he, and other Democrats, will propose measures making it a federal offense to have possession of certain government documents or to fail to divulge information that a person has obtained such documents. Walter plans to introduce the highly controversial bill which would allow the FBI and the Central Intelligence agencies of the Army and the Navy to obtain admissible evidence through wire tapping.

LABOR'S FOES MAKE HAY

The Senate filibuster has given the anti-labor lobbyists a chance to carry out their calculated campaign against repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. While the Administration's labor bill to reinstate a modified version of the Wagner Act, which was reported out of committee last week, awaits Senate action, the men originally responsible for the anti-labor bill are feverishly working to keep T-H on the statute books.

Some big names head the false fronts for industry this year. Former Representative Fred Hartley (R, N.J.), co-author of the Act, staged a comeback on the Washington scene as president of the Tool Owners' Union, Inc., which the New York State Department of Labor in 1947 refused to incorporate on the ground that "no more Fascist organization, with all the potentialities for undemocratic action and danger to our way of life, has yet come before the official attention of this board."

Hartley has set up the new Washington office of the Tool Owners' Union a few blocks away from another anti-labor outfit, the Committee for the Preservation of the Taft-Hartley Act. The "Committee" consists of only two members—William Ingles, a veteran lobbyist, and Gerald Landis, former Republican Representative from Indiana. Ingles receives in the neighborhood of $50,000 a year in fees from his clients: Inland Steel, Allis-Chalmers, Fruehauf Trailer, the National Association of Electric Companies, the American Hotel Association, the employer-dominated Foremen's League for Education and Association. He has hired Landis at $1,000 a month to do his legwork on Capital Hill this session.

While the Taft-Hartley Act was being written in 1947, the Senate Labor Committee hired Gerard D. Reilly to help draft the bill. Reilly, a former solicitor of the Department of Labor who later served on the National Labor Relations Board, has become one of the top anti-labor lobbyists in Washington. His accounts include the Inland Press Association, the General Electric Company and the Printing Industry of America, but his primary source of income is a $3,000 monthly retainer from General Motors. Representing his various clients, Reilly testified twice against repeal of T-H during the recent committee hearings.

Like the Tool Owners' Union, which is anti-union, the National Small Businessmen's Association is anti-small business. (President of the Association, DeWitt Emery, has among his contributors such small business firms as B. F. Goodrich, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Goodyear Tire Rubber, Socony Vacuum, Standard Oil of Indiana and of New Jersey, Chrysler Corporation and Republic Steel.) This Association is spending thousands of dollars in full-page advertisements in Washington and New York papers to present the arguments for T-H.

Other lesser-known groups are also flooding congressional offices with pro-Taft-Hartley material. The National Wage Earners' League of Chicago distributes form postcards addressed to Senator Elbert Thomas (D, Utah), chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, to be signed and mailed by recipients. The Life Insurance Policyholders' Protective Association keeps its employees informed by leaflets favoring T-H. The National Labor-Management Foundation of Chicago, whose officers overlap with those in the Tool Owners' Union and other anti-labor groups, currently supplies corporations with a leaflet called "Iron Curtain," a convincing explanation of benefits employees receive under Taft-Hartley.

It may take even more expensive propaganda than this to convince Congress that it misunderstood the meaning of the elections.

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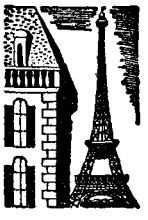
OUTSIDE AMERICA

Charles de Gaulle's chance of becoming *chef* of the French people is growing slim. For this fact (and all recent word from France suggests that it is a fact) Russell Hill of the New York *Herald Tribune* offers a partial explanation. "De Gaulle's Rally of the French People," he writes, "has



stopped rallying people and is losing strength" because "it has concentrated on anti-Communism (but the government is anti-Communist too) and on attacking the government for inefficiency and corruption (but the Communists do that too)."

The point is as applicable to other countries as to France. There was a time when negation was a good political weapon, and that time undoubtedly will come again; but in the world of 1949 there is so much competition in various kinds and degrees of negation that it has become a political liability rather than an asset.

Nevertheless, though de Gaulle has concentrated on negation, he also makes a positive appeal. In essence his affirmative program is himself. Recently he emerged in a new role—as publisher of a weekly magazine designed to win for him the support of thoughtful, farsighted men and women not only in France but in other Western European countries. The name of the magazine is *La Liberté de l'Esprit*; its editor is Claude Mauriac, son of the famous right-wing Catholic novelist; and its program as stated in the first issue throws some light on why the General's prestige is declining. In an article entitled "Good Faith," Mauriac writes: "We are conscious of the danger to freedom in Europe. We know that this time General de Gaulle will be the savior not only of France but also of Europe."

There are undoubtedly some millions of Frenchmen who think of de-Gaulle as a savior of their country—as a leader of a religiose nationalism in the style of the Duce, the Führer, the Caudillo, the Kvaternik and the Kremlin's Vozd. (After all, there were millions who accepted Marshal Pétain, and plenty of Déats and Doriots who accepted Hitler himself.) But the salvation of Europe is another matter. To thoughtful Europeans of the West few notions are more unrealistic than that of Europe's being saved by a European who has illusions of grandeur not only about himself but also about Europe. Some Europeans hope that eventually their old continent will be able to apply to itself the formula Count Cesare Balbo applied to Italy a century ago—*"L'Italia fara da se"* ("Italy will do it by herself"). Most, however, are realistic enough to recognize Europe's weaknesses, both moral and material; and they know quite well that if the continent is to be saved from a threat to its freedom coming from without, the salvation, too, will have to come from without—that "the savior not only of France but also of Europe" will have to be the material strength of the United States.

But to these thoughtful Europeans there is a world of difference between salvation and liberation. Though only a half-dozen years ago liberation was a magical word, a symbol of hope, it has become, in 1949, in the year of the ominous rumblings of Russian reaction to the North Atlantic Pact, a harbinger of fear. Twice in a single generation Western Europe was invaded from the east, and liberated from beyond the western sea; and the Europeans are not ungrateful. But now, in a year when the temperature of the cold war may get its most dangerous test, the prospect of a third invasion from the east has become scarcely more dreadful than the possible need for a third liberation by force of American arms.

This attitude has seldom been more simply and clearly stated than by French Premier Henri Queuille in a recent interview with the United Press. He said:

> France and Western Europe must be spared an invasion. We know that once Western Europe was occupied, America would again come to our aid, and eventually we would again be liberated. But the process would be terrible. The next time you probably would be liberating a corpse. . . . The real frontier of Western Europe which must be defended must be moved well beyond the actual frontiers because once the geographical frontiers of these countries are crossed, it will be too late for America to save very much. Fifteen days, even, after the invasion will be too late. . . .

Many Europeans are becoming convinced that "the real frontier" is not geographical at all; that it lies in the realm of ideas and conduct—political, economic, social; and that though it needs the strongest kind of military protection, it requires even more (and more quickly) a clear policy and a workable program to which Europeans of the West can rally. If liberation is not to come once again from across the western sea, salvation must come first in the form of a policy and program based on European realities, moral as well as material.

Europeans have a long and blood-stained history, and they do not underestimate the importance of military security. But so far as the physical geography of "the real frontier" is concerned, they realize there can be little further extension. For example, they note that when an American B-50 bomber circled the world, it was refueled at four

American air bases, only one of them on American soil. They are aware that there are many other seats of American military power on non-American soil. And their objections are less to the nature and extent of American power than to the use to which this power may be put. Jet planes are not vehicles of ideas; military preparedness is not a substitute for political prevention.

While Americans have been shocked by what European Communist

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leaders have recently been saying—by their unmistakable warnings of a pro-Soviet Fifth Columnism—non-Communist Europeans have been worried by what some American leaders have been saying. The Senate has been competing with the Politburo in inflicting psychological wounds on the Western Europeans. And the injuries have not all been the result of such crypto-isolationism as that of Senators Hickenlooper and George, or of such ineptitude as that of Senator Connally. The source of the deepest anxiety has been the impression created by American policy statements (and innuendoes) since the Norway incident that the Atlantic Pact amounts to a preparation for inevitable conflict.

Walter Lippmann approached the heart of the matter when he offered an explanation of why Maurice Thorez and Palmiro Togliatti "dared to say what they did." He wrote:

> We have to realize how great is the European horror of invasion and occupation. It is so great that while the Western Europeans would fight on their frontiers to prevent invasion, the great mass of the people—those who would not escape and become refugees—do not expect to resist another occupation.

And London's *New Statesman and Nation* echoed Queuille in writing:

> The plain truth is that Europe has had too much of being liberated. Whether the next act of liberation would be performed by the Red Army in the name of the dispossessed workers, or by American bombers in the cause of economic freedom and civil liberties, is an issue less relevant to the people of Europe than whether they are again to be engulfed in the misery and suffering which would be the prelude to such "liberation." Their concern is, quite simply, not to have war at all.

The basic questions in Western Europe today are less about the nature of American military preparations than about American political policy, less about military coördination than about political integration with the West. What non-Communist Europeans want is the prevention of war by a policy that mobilizes the wills of the persons who will be in the cockpit of a third world war; and, failing that, they want a policy that will rule out a Fifth Columnism likely to make liberation longer and unimaginably difficult. Such a policy can only come from America.

Unfortunately what has been coming from America has been an incoherent mass of scraps and bits of policy. Since the end of the Second World War, there have been too many voices of America, too many official, semi-official or merely amateur American persons and agencies seeking to rally Western Europeans to the support of what has seemed an intention but not a policy. The effect of a multiplicity of explanations of American policy has been a confusion that has played into the hands of the enemies of the West's freedom.

In the old days (which is what the 1920's seem today) the State Department alone was the voice of America in Europe. For better or worse, the Secretary and the diplomats spoke for Washington. A change began when President Roosevelt himself became the spokesman (at times saying things that did not quite agree with what his Secretary of State said). During the war, a third voice made itself heard—that of the official American propaganda agencies (and at times this spoke a language different both from the President's and the Secretary's).

Europeans expected this situation of pluralism in the making and stating of American policy to end with the termination of the war. Instead, what had been abnormal by an earlier standard became normal: America spoke with many voices, and, taken together, the result was cacophony, not policy. The worst part of the situation was the contrast between America's voices and *the* Soviet voice. While the Soviet's monolithic machine of policy and propaganda (the two interchangeable) made all the little human cogs whistle the same tune, the American system of freedom made a Tower of Babel. The voices of spokesmen for the State Department were often drowned out by:

The President making impromptu statements, contradicting others and himself;

White House spokesmen;

Senators, Representatives and federal officials, many of whom traveled in Europe with the equivalent of portable loudspeakers;

Radio broadcasters of "The Voice of America" and officials of such agencies as the United States Information Service;

Officials of ECA and other economic agencies;

Officers of the armed services;

Special representatives of organized labor;

Leading churchmen, especially of the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church;

Officials of business organizations such as the NAM.

The list is by no means complete. Literally hundreds of Americans, at home and abroad, have been far from silent on behalf of scores of versions of their strong country's policies. What nearly all of them have had in common was salesmanship of a negation—they were anti-Communist. And naturally, since there were so many of them and since most were amateurs posing as professionals, Europeans could get from them little of what they want and need from America—a coherent policy based on the fullest and most skillful exploitation of political, economic and social means of preventing salvation from becoming synonymous with liberation.

It is no wonder that thoughtful Europeans of the West are confused about where America—the authentic America of the people—stands on the real frontier which is not geographical. And it is time that the real America made herself heard above the babel of spurious voices of America. If she is to save Europe and herself from the third bloodbath, she must function as a maker of sensible policy, not as a mass of salesmen of dubious salvation.

PERCY WINNER

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GERMAN POLICY AFTER DRAPER

The banker-general's withdrawal from government should be the occasion for a re-examination of our Germany-firstism

by James Stewart Martin

Is a new policy for Germany in the making? There are reports from Germany that the rapid rise of heavy industrial production, especially in the Ruhr, while light or consumer-goods industries recover more slowly, has brought new headaches for the occupying powers. Not the least of them has been a burst of arrogance from German top management in key heavy-industry combines, which are all set to make the most of their new importance.

This was bound to happen. The signs were already visible when I discussed in the *New Republic* for October 6, 1947, the failure of the Allies to eliminate the "excessive concentration of economic power" in Germany. Under official policies that were never carried out, power was supposed to have been taken from the top men of the big German industrial combines before the recovery swing got under way. But now that the results of failure are beginning to haunt us, sentiment is building up for a thorough review of American policies in Germany.

The man who has rightfully received credit for reversing our original policies against cartels and other excessive concentrations of economic power, both in Germany and Japan, suddenly announced his resignation on February 19. William H. Draper Jr., Undersecretary of the Army, wrote to President Truman that he had "enjoyed and benefited tremendously from the many interesting assignments and responsibilities" of the nine years he had been on military leave from the investment-banking firm, Dillon, Read and Company.

As a major general and economic adviser to General Lucius D. Clay, the outgoing Undersecretary was responsible for overruling the Potsdam decision to build up Germany as a consumer-goods producer and for substituting in place of the Potsdam formula the older pattern that had prevailed between the two world wars. The Draper plan will make Germany the principal supplier of heavy industrial equipment to the rest of Europe. After World War I, Draper's Dillon, Read was the firm that started the ball rolling for the build-up of the Ruhr as Europe's heavy-industry center, with the $100 million loan to Fritz Thyssen's Vereinigte Stahlwerke in 1926.

We were supposed to have learned a lesson in World War II. Postwar policies approved by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman in 1945 held that if we should make the rest of Europe depend on Germany for heavy industrial products, instead of redeveloping the heavy-industry capacity of non-German Europe, Germany would have too much control over Europe's economy in peacetime and a surplus of heavy industrial capacity to be used for war.

WILLIAM H. DRAPER JR.

The Draper plan calls not only for restoring Germany as the heavy-industry center of Europe, but for retaining in power the top management of the heavy-industry combines. These men, together with German financial and investment wizards like Schacht, Shroeder and Abs, had the investment-banking knowledge to weave together the complex German model of the "free enterprise" system, which in 1945 was generally known as the "cartel" system.

The cult of "management" has been a Dillon, Read trademark for generations; and the Draper plan has now applied the formula to Germany and Japan. In March, 1948, the Draper mission to Japan—which included Paul G. Hoffman, soon to become ECA Administrator—reversed the United States policy that would have eliminated control of the Japanese economy by the Zaibatsu. The Draper mission came out in favor of a policy that would recognize the supremacy of the "experienced" Japanese management groups.

The question is whether the departure of Undersecretary Draper indicates that an effort is under way to get American policy back on the track. Another question is this: If such an attempt is made, can it possibly succeed? Or has so much new machinery of German control already been built along the old lines that mere removal of the engineer will not change the way the machine works? Dispatches from Frankfurt dated February 22, 1949, indicate that the managers of Germany's leading prewar steel combines will be members of the board of trustees that will run the Ruhr steel industry for the Allies. Military Government officials are quoted as saying that this control by the old management is "a certainty and a necessity."

It is no accident that a number of Germans who bear a great part of the responsibility for the rise of Nazism have been able to keep their jobs under

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James Stewart Martin was formerly Chief of Decartelization in Germany under General Lucius D. Clay.

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DRAWINGS BY JOHN GROTH

the military and investment-banking coalition that has controlled the Occupation up to the present time. Regardless of the intention of individuals like General Clay, any military organization by its nature shares at least one important characteristic with the prewar German industrial set-up: adherence to the principle of control from the top. Perhaps it was asking too much of a military organization to carry out a policy which called for decentralization of power and for placing initiative and responsibility on a broader base.

When General Clay turned over to "the Germans themselves" the job of picking twelve German trustees to sit on the control board that will run the Ruhr iron and steel industry under Military Government Law No. 75, the assignment fell in the first instance to one man: Dr. Hermann Pünder, president of the Executive Council of the Bizonal Economic Administration, the German administrative organization that supervises the economics of Bizonia.

In January Dr. Pünder asked trade-union leaders to help him pick a slate of German trustees. The trade unionists soon left the conference and refused to accept the slate proposed by Dr. Pünder, which included representatives of the biggest prewar steel combines. Among them were: Dr. Werner Albert, former Nazi Party representative on the board of the Mannesmann steel combine and a *Wehrwirtschaftsführer* ("leader of the war economy"); Dr. Herman J. Abs, former director of the Deutsche Bank and intimate of Baron Kurt von Schroeder, Hitler's banker, and of the Dutch industrial collaborationist, F. H. Fentener van Vlissingen; Heinrich Dinkelbach, managing director of the Dillon, Read-financed Vereinigte Stahlwerke, and right-hand man of Ernst Poensgen, founder and dominant figure in the International Steel Cartel; Günther Henle, grandson of Peter Kloeckner, who succeeded Kloeckner as chairman of the Kloeckner steel combine in 1940; Günther Sohl, wartime Nazi Party representative on the boards of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, Krupp, and other big steel works; Karl Barich of the Rhenish-Westphalian Electric Company, public-utility network covering Western Germany from the Dutch to the Swiss borders; Friederich Wilhelm Engel, former director of Hoesch A. G., third-biggest steel combine in Germany; and Herbert Mondon, formerly of the Hermann Goering steel works and deputy chairman of the Iron and Steel Association. Only four of Dr. Pünder's twelve came from outside the top ranks of the biggest steel combines: Dr. Victor Agartz, former economics chief in Bizonia; Dr. Heinrich Deist, German civil servant; Heinrich Meyer, former trade-union secretary; and Gerhard Schroeder, former Nazi government attorney.

General Clay immediately stated his conviction that not more than three of the twelve German trustees should represent former owners of the combines, and declared that he and General Sir Brian Robertson, British Military Governor, would have the last word in naming the German trustee group. The trouble is that General Clay apparently has no thought of re-

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placing Dr. Pünder, who has just demonstrated in a dramatic fashion how his mind runs. Dr. Pünder has had experience in shaping the thoughts of his German associates. During the war he served as a lieutenant-colonel in the counter-propaganda service of the Army High Command (Truppen-Abwehr of the OKH). He served in Division III-H, the division concerned with preserving morale and correct Nazi ideology in the ground forces; what one may call a corps of "political commissars." It is a safe bet that the thinking of men like Dr. Pünder will continue to shape the actual performance of the German trustees, whoever they may turn out to be.

As if to underline how the "international" control of the Ruhr is likely to be run, dispatches from Germany dated February 25, 1949, in addition to naming Dr. Pünder's twelve proposed trustees, also named four representatives of the United States Steel Corporation and one of Inland Steel who will be the US members of the same Ruhr trusteeship commission. Prominent among them is Ian F. L. Elliott, described as a British subject who is a representative of US Steel in Europe. In the years immediately before the outbreak of World War II, Elliott participated in the management of the International Steel Cartel as a representative of the British group headed by Sir Andrew Duncan of the British Iron and Steel Federation.

Elliott also frequently acted as spokesman for an American group which was silently bringing the American steel industry into the cartel despite difficulties posed by the anti-trust laws. He worked closely with Benjamin Fairless, president of US Steel, Eugene G. Grace of Bethlehem, and Tom Girdler of Republic, who were attempting to get the entire American steel industry into line with the export and production quotas set by the International Steel Cartel. In these negotiations the German group was headed by Dr. Ernst Poensgen; the French group by Humbert de Wendel and Pierre Pucheu; and the Luxembourg group by Aloyse Meyer, permanent president of the International Steel Cartel.

During the fifty years before the end of World War I, the balance of heavy industry in Western Europe rested in the steel industry of French Lorraine which had fallen to the Germans in the War of 1870. After World War I, the Franco-German de Wendel family, leaders in the French national steel cartel, the Comité des Forges, double-crossed French interests and collaborated with Poensgen and his German group as well as with the British Iron and Steel Federation, the American investment-banking group headed by Dillon, Read, and the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, in a campaign to relegate French heavy industry to a second-rate position and to build up a new axis in which the major part of Western European heavy industry would be located in the Ruhr.

Steel production was then to be based on the importation of iron ore from Sweden, Newfoundland and Spain. Collaboration of the de Wendels with the Ruhr industrialists and with British and American finance enabled the Germans to defeat the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and in the end put *de facto* control over steel production quotas into the hands of the International Steel Cartel. The announcement of Elliott as one of the "American" trustees of Ruhr industry clearly points to a reconstitution of the cartel, no matter how the press releases may be phrased.

Therefore, regardless of how our official policy may be stated and restated, performance both in the short run and the long run is bound, under these circumstances, to suit the purposes behind the Draper plan. Yet so long as the military remains in control, anyone serving in Germany who dares to protest or point out the inevitable results of the way policy is being executed is in for a rough time.

The latest citizen to get his coattails caught in the machinery while trying to explain to the world how the German juggernaut is being rebuilt is Alexander Sacks, former Anti-Trust Division lawyer who served on two occasions since February, 1945, with the small anti-cartel group attached to Military Government in Germany. This anti-cartel squad, known as the Decartelization Branch, was supposed to see that the rebuilding of the German economic machine was steered along lines other than those of the old system. It is common knowledge that those efforts never were allowed to become effective, though occasional claims of progress were made in handouts to the press in the latter part of 1947.

Finally, rumors that the werewolves of the German cartel system had been shot with a bullet made of phony German silver instead of sterling, and that they were again out sucking blood, brought pressure on Secretary of the Army Royall to appoint an investigating commission headed by Federal Trade Commissioner Garland S. Ferguson. The Ferguson Commission went to Germany in December, 1948, to find out why nothing ever had been done to reorganize any German cartels or combines under the anti-cartel law, Military Government Law No. 56, which had been issued February 12, 1947. General Clay put an end to all hopes of effective enforcement of the decartelization measure on March 9, 1948, when he squelched all pending cases involving heavy industries, where all the significant cartels and combines operated, and restricted future enforcement to the field of consumer-goods industries, where there is not a cartel in a carload.

The Ferguson Commission held hearings in Germany and called Sacks as one of the witnesses. They asked him to account for the failure of the Decartelization Branch to carry out the intent of Law 56. He replied:

> The men charged with the highest responsibility by the Commander-in-Chief have failed to carry out the explicit orders of the July 15, 1947, Directive to the Commanding General and Military Governor in Germany. The policy of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations has been flagrantly disregarded by the very individuals who were charged with the highest responsibility for carry-

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ing them out. . . . It is no secret that the operations of the Decartelization Program have been hampered by Major General Draper and his associates in Military Government. . . . They have done whatever they could, by innuendo and misstatement, to discredit a program which they either did not understand, or did not like.

For speaking his convictions, based upon well-documented facts before the investigating commission, Sacks was suspended from employment with Military Government and held liable to court-martial on the charge of "making statements attacking the integrity and good faith of the Undersecretary of the Army and of key United States Military Government officials charged with the formulation of policy and the implementation of the decartelization program in the United States zone of Germany."

The Army's charges were hastily dropped and Sacks reinstated when former trust-buster Wendell Berge entered the picture as attorney for Sacks, backed by an array of people who were thoroughly acquainted with the German cartel story.

Berge pointed out in a letter to Assistant Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray that:

> . . . It is not only appropriate for a civilian employee to speak up when in good faith he has reason to believe that his superiors are mishandling public matters, but it is even his duty to do so. Not to do so would be in violation of his primary loyalty to the public. If this principle were not accepted, then the lips of subordinate officials would be sealed even though they had knowledge of misconduct, violation of law, or action contrary to officially declared policy on the part of their superiors. Important avenues of information necessary to keep the administration of our government clean and responsive to the mandates of Congress and the announced policies of the President would be obstructed.

It would probably be a mistake to assume that General Draper's resignation has any connection with a possible full-scale congressional investigation of the about-face of American policy in Germany since 1945. It seems more likely that the Germany First group feels that its mission has been accomplished, and that since Germany's future position in the European economy is now assured, investigations may come and go without seriously affecting the result.

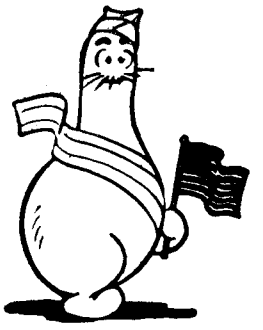
The cartel system that reached its peak in 1929 was based on a series of triangular arrangements among leading industrial groups in Britain, the United States and Germany. The division of the world's chemical markets among Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., Du Pont, and I. G. Farben was only one of many such set-ups engineered to police the Western European economy and the channels of world trade. A new version of this same system is being put across once more, in a repetition of the tragic errors that followed the First World War. Germany is again to be the focal point, with British and American finance and industry joining in the new alignment of forces. Only an immediate clean sweep holds any promise of arresting these trends before we are faced with a *fait accompli*.

The Army's inept action in suspending Alexander Sacks showed that his charges came at a time when the Army was for some reason sensitive to criticism. Following the elections of November, 1946, Military Government became more and more loaded with personnel out of sympathy with official policies, who openly looked forward to a change of Administration in November, 1948. It will be unfortunate if the departure of one highly placed individual from the scene has the effect of ringing down the curtain on further inquiries into the actual state of our policies in Germany.

There are persistent rumors that General Clay will soon resign and get the State Department to take over and appoint a civilian high commissioner for Germany. Whether or not the departure of Undersecretary Draper is a move in that direction, a reëxamination of the whole subject is overdue. General Draper's jobs up to now have put him in *de facto* control of American occupation policy; and if things are going to be any different, an investigation will be needed to find out where the bodies are buried.

THERE IS A

by Al Capp



Al Capp, one of the best-known comic-strip artists, draws "Li'l Abner," which appears in 600 American newspapers and many others all over the world. He recently became famous all over again when he invented the "Shmoo," the remarkably beneficent little animal some of whose history is told in the article below. Capp's book, The Life and Times of the Shmoo, *has sold very widely.*

The present article is a slightly modified version of a recent address on "Town Meeting of the Air."

– THE EDITORS

ALL I KNOW about modern capitalism, I learned from the Shmoo—that little animal which lays eggs and gives milk, both Grade A, of course. The Shmoo, himself, when fried tastes exactly like chicken and when broiled comes out steak.

A Shmoo's eyes make splendid suspender buttons, and his whiskers make the finest grade of toothpicks. When you look at one, as though you'd like to eat it, it dies out of a sheer will to please you. It's a perfectly ordinary little animal, but I learned a lot from it and this is how.

You may find this hard to believe, but in many ways cartoonists are like people. They have a lot of things to be thankful for, but on the other hand they have relatives. I want to tell you about some of mine. It isn't gener-

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REAL SHMOO

ally known that they're related to me, because while for certain reasons too embarrassing to mention here, I changed my name to Capp, they kept the old family name of Capitalist. I changed mine in 1929, during that great wave of persecution, here in America, of those of us who clung to our faith in capitalism, the simple faith of our forefathers.

One of these relatives is an uncle of mine, J. Parnell Capitalist. He's a fine, upstanding, red-blooded—I mean full-blooded—chap. J. Parnell is as honest as the day is long. He doesn't really have anything against foreigners; he just feels that it'd be safer to shoot anybody who isn't his kind of an American.

His wife has entirely different ideas. She doesn't really despise everything American; she merely feels that our way of life can't ever be truly 100-percent American until we make it 100-percent Russian. We call her Auntie Capitalist, naturally.

Now, with them there lives my cousin, Harry S. Cousin Harry was a good-natured, confused, well-meaning little chap who was always messing around in his cellar laboratory—that is when he wasn't picking out tunes on his mandolin. (The queer thing about

this Harry is he couldn't play the piano.) Well, one day Cousin Harry rushed excitedly up from the cellar holding a fat, squirming little creature in his arms.

"What's that you've got there?"

asked Uncle Parnell, looking up from the book he was reading, *The Immortal Orations of Alf Landon.*

"It's a Shmoo," cried Cousin Harry. "Not one of those foolish pictures your no-good nephew Al Capitalist draws, but a real, live Shmoo."

"How'd you whip that up?" asked Auntie Capitalist, looking up from her favorite newspaper, the *Daily-Arise-Ye - Prisoners - of - Starvation - and - Crush-the-Bloated-Bosses News.*

"Oh, it was easy as pie," chuckled Cousin Harry. "I mated a pool ball with a duck and twenty shares of National Dairy common stock. And now that we've got one Shmoo, there'll be plenty of them. They're wonderful little creatures. Just put one in a warm spot and pretty soon there'll be two. And everybody knows, once there are two Shmoos, in no time at all there'll be millions of them—they're very affectionate. All our troubles are over; now every American can have a Shmoo."

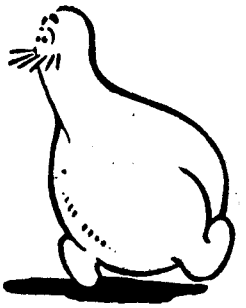
"Just a minute, Buddy," cried Uncle Parnell. "I don't know much about these here Shmoos, and anything I'm ignorant of, I'm against."

A suspicious look came into his little red eyes—I mean his little, red, white and blue eyes. He grabbed the frightened little animal, shook his big hairy fist in its trembling face, and roared, "I'm going to give you a loyalty test, Shmoo! So you give butter, milk and eggs for free, do you?" He snarled, "Well, what's going to become of every American's right to be gouged by his fellow American if you do that?"

"That isn't the worst part of it," screamed Auntie Capitalist, as she snatched the quivering little Shmoo away from her husband and yanked it over to where she sat on the extreme left. "How can the starving workers revolt against their fat, well-fed bosses if they become just as fat and well-fed?"

"Ah, give me a crack at that rat of a Shmoo," cried Uncle Parnell, yanking the little creature back and punching its trembling little nose. "By providing everybody with the basic necessities of life, you Shmoo, you rob free enterprise of its right to freely hijack the whole nation with murderous prices, and that's un-American," he roared.

Now Auntie Capitalist kicked the

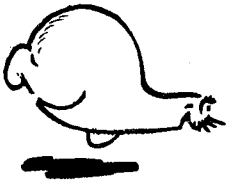


Shmoo in the teeth and screamed, "By making life happy and peaceful for the masses, you're robbing them of the incentive to overthrow their government." Then she bellowed, "You're counter-revolutionary, Shmoo, and you know how us Comrades treat Comrades like that."

Cousin Harry tore the two apart.

"Don't fight over the Shmoo, any more," he said quietly. "The little fellow is dead. You killed him."

But don't cry, kiddies, there is a real live Shmoo. This big earth itself will give us everything we want, just as the Shmoo does, if only we'd let it alone—if only, in our passion and hatred and intolerance, we don't tear it apart.



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ECONOMISTS AND THE BUDGET

Five outstanding financial experts discuss how much money should be spent, how it should be raised, and what is ahead for business

How BIG should the federal budget be? How should the money be raised? Should personal income taxes be increased at this time, as President Truman proposes? What about increased corporation taxes? About restoration of the excess-profits tax?

The *New Republic* recently solicited the opinions on these subjects of five outstanding students of public finance, whose personal attitudes range from fairly conservative to fairly progressive. They are:

William Benton of the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* former Assistant Secretary of State.

Professor Seymour Harris of Harvard University.

Professor Neil Jacoby of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Dr. Beardsley Ruml, treasurer of Macy's department store, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and inventor of pay-as-you-go taxation.

Professor Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard University.

In addition to letters responding to our inquiry, several of these individuals sent us statements on the subject which they had prepared recently for other purposes. Some of the material in the following article is drawn from these statements.

Of the five men, Dr. Jacoby was emphatic in saying that the national budget is too large and should be reduced by $2 billion or $3 billion. Dr. Harris approves, on the whole, of the budget as presented to Congress. Dr. Slichter says that "the increases in expenditures recommended by the President are not too large in view of the tremendous obligations which the country has assumed and the large domestic needs. If Congress can save a billion or two through reorganization of the government and through the elimination of waste, that is all to the good, but it would not materially change the size of the total budget."

William Benton is reasonably satisfied with the scale of expenditures proposed for domestic purposes. He feels, however, that the amount of spending for military purposes and for international projects depends upon our situation *vis à vis* Russia. Dr. Ruml does not oppose the size of the budget, but emphasizes the question of how the money is to be raised.

On this point, Dr. Jacoby is the most emphatic of the five. He is strongly opposed to any increase in taxes, even more to an increase in the corporate tax rate, and most of all to restoration of the excess-profits tax.

All types of corporate taxes, in his judgment, are without any ethical foundation, being based on pure expediency. "Business corporations as such," he says, "possess no 'capacity' to pay taxes. Only their stockholders, as natural persons, have capacity to pay. . . . National policy should move frankly in the direction of eliminating taxes on corporate income, except where they are necessary to prevent people from using corporations as devices to escape personal income taxes."

Dr. Jacoby is opposed to President Truman's proposed $4 billion tax increase. He thinks the country is entering a deflationary stage, and that an increase in taxes at this time would make the situation worse:

> The most urgent postwar demands for housing and durable consumer goods have been met. From here on, the pressure of demand will not be as great in relation to supply, and will not support continued increases in prices. Business enterprises have completed their initial programs of postwar expansion of plant and facilities. Business spending will continue to be large, but it will not be carried on at the hot pace of 1946-48. Marshall Plan aid to foreign countries has exerted its maximum effect upon American exports, and further reductions in the net export surplus may be expected as European nations continue their economic recovery.
>
> Farm prices have been sagging for nearly a year. They may be expected to decline farther, with consequent dampening effects upon prices and profits in a wide variety of foods and textiles.
>
> No *sharp* contraction in the price level or in national income and employment is in sight. Construction has gained great momentum and will continue strongly. Consumer and business spending will be ample, but will be more cautious and selective.

In view of the whole situation, Dr. Jacoby would reduce expenditures for national defense and for support of farm prices, and would postpone many proposed public works until unemployment and curtailed business make pump priming definitely desirable.

If, however, it should turn out that our problem is still inflation, he thinks control of bank credit is a better way of offsetting it than increased taxes.

On a cash basis, he says, federal income already exceeds federal outgo by $2.8 billion. The President's tax plan would mean a surplus of $5.5 billion, which he considers excessive, especially when we remember that federal taxation is now taking 20 percent of the national income. The excess-profits tax he condemns not only for the reason mentioned above but because it tends to cut all types of business down to the same level of return; he feels that certain types of activity—drilling for oil, for example—involve so much risk that capital will not engage in them unless there is a prospect of correspondingly large profits. He points out that more than 50 percent of plant expansion since the war has come from undivided profits and argues that in view of the "persistently depressed stock market," this has been "the only way in which most medium-sized and small concerns have been able to finance their expansion."

Dr. Harris, on the other hand, thinks that there is still danger of inflation and that national policy must take this into account. He considers the 1949-50 budget "a well-balanced

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statement of the government's position in the American economy and that of the country in world affairs." It is true that "in a highly inflationary economy, the government should keep expenditures down to a minimum; from that viewpoint, the President's budget may be excessive. But I stress the fact that 1949 does not promise to be as inflationary as observers of 1948 might have anticipated; and I italicize the point that stabilization is but one facet of public policy."

Dr. Harris is not alarmed at the prospect of taxing profits. "Taxes should come from those best able to pay, who also contribute importantly to inflationary pressures. On both these criteria, is there a more deserving candidate than profits? If the opposition fears the depressing effect of taxes in an uncertain year, then Congress should give the President the discretion to slow up the flow from the expenditure spigot and increase that from the tax spigot, once depression seems certain to strike."

William Benton belongs to the school which thinks there is still danger of continued inflation, because of the Marshall Plan and military expenditures, including lend-lease under the North Atlantic Pact. He thinks the federal budget will continue to climb even if there is no war, and envisages in the not distant future an annual budget of $55 billion to $60 billion:

> These are terrifying figures. I remember how daring I felt in October of 1944 when I published a prediction in *Fortune* that our postwar budget might total $16 billion to $18 billion. . . .
>
> I prefer direct controls to further inflation; but far more I prefer controls that are indirect, controls that are exercised chiefly through tax policy and through manipulation of the volume and availability of money and credit, and that leave the market as free as possible. The question facing us is whether we shall have the skill and the courage to pursue the latter course to the limit. . . . Is it possible for us to free ourselves from the more violent and self-compounding excesses of the business cycle without deliberately donning the straitjacket—the straitjacket which destroys freedom?

DRAWING BY GERTRUDE GOODRICH

On this point, Benton agrees with the Committee on Economic Development that there are several factors working against a violent depression which did not exist in 1921 or '29. For one thing, the federal budget can exert a stabilizing influence just because it is so big, and is such a large part of the national income. Our money and banking system is better than before; the federal insurance of bank deposits should prevent crises of confidence; the Federal Reserve System can now lend to the banks on the security of all their sound assets. The total of private debt is far smaller than in 1929; it is now only 85 percent of one year's national income, compared to 185 percent 20 years ago. Benton favors a stable tax rate which will produce larger revenue in an inflationary period and smaller amounts in a deflation.

Dr. Slichter, while not disturbed about the total size of the budget, is strongly opposed to the President's plan for increased taxes, which he thinks would help to bring on a recession. "The President ignores the large surplus in the current cash budget and the fact that a cash surplus is not needed today as it was a year ago to control inflation." He is in favor of the President's proposals for increased social-security taxes, "which are badly needed in connection with broadening and liberalizing the social insurances." These taxes would alone, in Dr. Slichter's opinion, "give the government as large a cash budget surplus as is safe at the present time." He goes on:

> Particularly ill-advised are tax increases which would encourage corporations to cut their expenditures on plant and equipment at the very time when these expenditures are likely to be cut anyway.
>
> The huge obligations which the United States has assumed toward other countries and the demand for more and better services from the government at home mean that taxes will remain high for some time to come. The obligations which the government has assumed, plus the demand for large real incomes by nearly everyone, indicate that the country needs a far larger and better industrial plant than it now possesses. Hence, there is need for tax reforms which, while preserving present yields of taxes, would reduce their tendency to discourage the accumulation of capital. The higher the yield that must be obtained from taxes, the greater is the need for reforms designed to make taxes less discouraging to enterprise.

Dr. Beardsley Ruml is concerned about the means of raising revenue for the 1949-50 budget. He holds that the case for a tax increase has not been proved. He agrees with Dr. Jacoby that

> if tax rates should be increased, as has been recommended, to provide an additional $4 billion, the excess of receipts over expenditures, that is, the surplus in the cash consolidated budget, would be some $5.5 billion. There is no need at the present time for a surplus of this magnitude. Indeed, in view of the uncertainty as to the business outlook and the level of employment, such a surplus is positively dangerous.
>
> Fortunately, we have an alternative to an increase in taxation, one that is effective as a deflationary measure and is much more flexible and much more appropriate than a tax increase to the situation in which we find ourselves in the coming year.
>
> That measure is the sale of US Government Savings Bonds to the public. The sale of savings bonds picks up purchasing power that would otherwise have to be withdrawn by taxation. It has a great advantage over taxation in

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that it is selective and does not impose on those who cannot afford it, as taxation would, the non-recurring costs of government. . . . If we will plan to sell $4 billion of savings bonds net to the public, we shall have accomplished all that is necessary in the Administration's tax proposals. In addition, we shall have the flexibility that is so essential at the present time when we do not know whether inflation or deflation lies ahead.

Not only does Dr. Ruml believe no case has been made for an increase in tax rates; he believes that some excise taxes, "which are inequitable and which bear unevenly on business enterprise," should be reduced. He also pleads for efficiency and economy in government operation, especially in view of the very large expenditures now required for military purposes:

Obviously, it is the desire of every citizen that the dollars that are spent be spent efficiently, that waste and duplication be eliminated and that the purposes toward which expenditure is directed be common purposes which represent the national will.

If we are to have efficiency in public expenditure, two measures are obviously necessary.

First, the President must have an increased scope of authority in the organization and reorganization of the agencies in the executive branch of the government.

And second, a higher level of compensation, as has been recommended, should be established for top government officials in order to hold in the federal service and to attract to the federal service the talent that is necessary for efficient managerial operations.

It is obvious that the differences among these famous experts depend largely upon their difference of opinion as to the immediate future. Messrs. Jacoby and Slichter are opposed to additional taxes at this time because they believe such taxes will have a deflationary effect at a moment when inflation is no longer our problem. Dr. Ruml advocates the sale of savings bonds for the same reason. If we could be sure in which direction the economy is headed, it would be far easier to accept the recommendation of one school or the other. But unfortunately, the economic experts are like the rest of us. They have no crystal ball.

STEEL: BRITAIN'S NEXT STEP

Why the Labor Government is staking its future on the plan for the nationalization of this crucial and difficult industry

by G. D. H. Cole

Early In April, the British Labor Government will take the most important step in its entire program of domestic reform. At that time, the bill for nationalization of the steel industry will come up in the House of Commons for its "third reading," that is, for full debate and a vote. If it passes, as it is expected to do, it goes to the House of Lords, where last-ditch opposition may be expected. Quite possibly, the Lords may delay the bill a full year, in which case it could easily become the central issue in the fateful general election of 1950.

Why the Labor Government attaches such importance to the bill in spite of the bitter controversy it is creating, is explained in the article below. G. D. H. Cole, for many years an outstanding Labor Party economist, is author of a dozen widely read books, professor of social and political theory at Oxford and fellow of All Souls College. —THE EDITORS

THE STEEL BILL differs from the British Labor Government's previous nationalization measures in that it is the first to involve a manufacturing industry.

This difference is important, not mainly because some people draw a line between "public-utility service"—with which they group coal mining and transport, as well as electricity, gas and water supply—and "industry," but much more because it is hardly ever possible to say exactly where one manufacturing industry leaves off and another begins, so that the familiar practice of nationalizing an entire sector of economic activity is much more difficult to apply.

This problem arises in an acute form in the case of the steel industry, which shades off into a host of other industries engaged in working up its basic products. Moreover, the industry in its existing structure displays almost every possible variety of vertical integration, both in the activities of individual large firms and through the ownership, or part ownership, of a host of subsidiary undertakings. The central activity of producing ingot steel is in the hands of a limited number of big firms, which for a long time past have acted so closely together as to constitute a virtual—and a highly restrictive—monopoly; and these same firms are engaged in a wide variety of subsequent processes side by side with independent "rerolling" and other finishing firms which depend on them for supplies of crude steel.

How to do it? There is only one workmanlike way of nationalizing an industry with this type of structure. That is, without attempting to define exactly the frontiers of public ownership, to list the actual firms which are to be taken over, and to take them just as they are, with such subsidiary activities as they have in fact, for technical or other reasons, chosen to combine with their principal business of producing ingot steel—and to defer until after their acquisition any necessary sorting out of their complex structure into more suitable units from the standpoint of higher technical efficiency and the creation of more satisfactory units of managerial control. This eminently sensible line the Labor Government has followed in the Steel Bill which is now before the British Parliament.

This method of nationalization of course requires that the firms to be taken over by the state under the bill will, after transference to public ownership, be working in direct competition with other businesses which will

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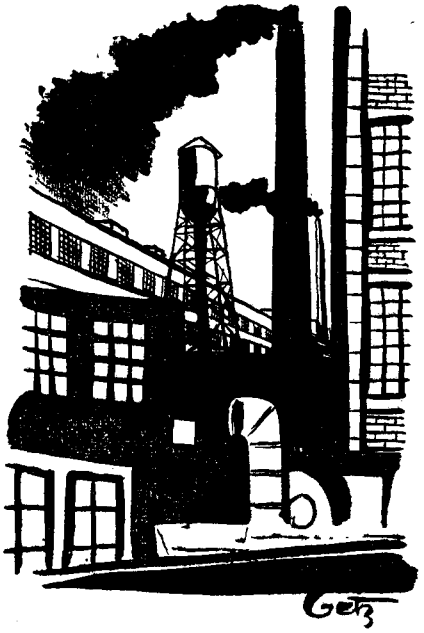
remain in private hands. So far from being a disadvantage, this seems to me an advantage. The great danger of nationalization is that public monopolies might be set up unchecked by the need to show their efficiency compared with private firms. In the production of crude steel, the working of private enterprise has shown that, within the limitations of the total market, no such competitive check is compatible with the technical requirements of large-scale production. The capitalist steelmakers have formed themselves into a private monopoly which, until state control was instituted under war conditions, enjoyed state protection for its monopolistic position because, without such protection, it would not have been able to survive.

There is no way, under private or public ownership, of maintaining competitive conditions in crude steel in a country the size of Great Britain, in the face of the technical requirements of large-scale organization. Yet it is highly undesirable that this monopoly situation should be extended further than is absolutely necessary on technical grounds. If the production of ingot steel has to be organized as a monopoly, there is the strongest possible case for making this monopoly a public concern, fully answerable to control in the national interest. It is also undesirable that monopoly, public or private, should extend further than technological conditions make unavoidable; and a plan that will leave a fairly wide area over which private and public enterprises will be in direct competition, and will thus serve each to keep the other up to the mark, has a great deal to recommend it, both to avoid bureaucratic ossification and to induce the private firms that are left in being to rely less on restrictive trade practices and more on keeping well abreast of every technological advance.

Why bother? The opponents of nationalization have obviously been taken very much aback by the government's bill. They had expected a measure they would be able to attack as involving centralized bureaucracy; they are faced, instead, with a plan that allows every firm transferred to public ownership to keep its name, its good will, its management, and even its board of directors, subject only to a shift of responsibility from a body of private shareholders, who in practice exercised very little control, to a corporation acting on behalf of the state, and instructed to govern the industry's policy in accordance with the requirements of the national economic-recovery plan. This has reduced the opponents of the bill to arguing, not that it will "bureaucratize" the industry, but that, since the state proposes to leave the existing structure of the nationalized firms intact, the change from private to public operation is not justified. This argument is thoroughly disingenuous; it ignores two essential points.

In the first place, the existing structure is not to be left as it is, but is to be modified by gradual stages as the physical means of reorganization become available. The plan of development made by the industry itself in 1946 serves well enough for the time being as a basis for capital construction, but only because the shortage of capital resources slows up reorganization for the time being, allowing no room for major structural changes. As it becomes possible to undertake the major technical reëquipment that is needed, the existing capitalist structure of the steel industry will have to be more and more modified in order to achieve better regional integration of processes and a better balance of productive capacity; and these tasks can be handled much better by a "holding company"—the proposed national corporation—in command of a unified industry than by attempting to do the job while keeping the existing units. Second, the reëquipment of the industry is bound to require, over the next decade, an amount of new capital which the private steel firms are quite incapable of raising for themselves on the ordinary capital market, except with the aid of state guarantees which would make the government, in effect, the financier of the industry. The state can raise this capital far more cheaply than could be done privately, even with the aid of public guarantees of interest; and the state can ensure that the requisite capital shall be made available at low interest rates as it is wanted, irrespective of fluctuations in the market for private capital.



Why state credit is better. Where an industry is in the position, as the steel industry is, of being quite unable to raise the capital needed for modernization and reëquipment without the help of the state by way of subsidy, or at least of guarantee, it is surely much better for the state to use its credit to supply the needed resources directly than to hand out subsidies or guarantees which will artificially inflate the value of privately owned investments and will in addition recreate a monopoly power liable to be used against the public interest.

The main reason why the steel industry, if left in private hands, is bound to follow policies which clash with the general interest is that, at any rate under British conditions, the making of ingot steel for private profit is bound to result in restrictive monopoly. The government cannot afford to allow the volume of production to fall off; and it must therefore, as long as the industry remains in private hands, maintain prices at a high enough level to allow relatively inefficient firms to make a satisfactory profit. This neces-

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sity arises because, owing to shortage of capital available for reconstruction, it is simply out of the question, for some time to come, to displace obsolete or obsolescent plant. The high-cost plants must be kept in operation, in order to keep total output at the level called for by the home and export markets, in view of a balance-of-payments situation which precludes either higher imports or reduced exports.

If, then, obsolete plant must be kept at work for the time being at high cost, the public can be served at fair prices only by an agency that can equalize prices, by averaging costs between the worse and better plants; and, as resources become available for reëquipment, it is of the greatest importance to ensure that they shall be so allocated as to meet the most urgent national needs, and not in accordance with the respective pulls on the capital market of each particular capitalist concern.

The opponents of public ownership are trying to argue that this can be achieved by state control, without transfer of ownership. But control is in fact a most inappropriate instrument. State control over private business acts of necessity in a negative and not in a constructive way. It can be used to prevent businesses from doing the wrong things, from the standpoint of the public interest, but not to induce them to do the right things. For example, it is easy enough, by means of a controlling public agency, to prevent a firm from embarking on a large-scale expenditure undesirable from the national point of view; but no mere "control" can induce a private firm to spend a penny that it does not want to spend, however urgent the national need may be. Nor can a "control" induce a private firm to spend money on developments considered likely to benefit its rivals rather than itself, or to risk finding itself equipped with too much capacity should world demand fall off.

Should America come in? On all these grounds, I am sure the British government has an unanswerable case for nationalizing the key branches of the steel industry, even though the fruits of public ownership will take many years to reap because of the unavoidable shortage of means of capital reëquipment. In view of this shortage, no one expects that public ownership, or any other practicable expedient, can bring about a rapid solution of the industry's technological problems, for these are in truth insoluble without a much higher expenditure of capital resources than can be afforded for a long time. It may be argued that this shortage could be made good if the industry were to be left in private hands, and if American capital could be induced to enter it on a sufficient scale to offset the present lack of British resources for its reconstruction. But I think few people in Great Britain would welcome, even if it were on the cards, a solution that would convert the British steel industry into a subsidiary of the great United States concerns.

On what terms? We wish to keep the control of our key industries and services in our own hands. Grateful as we are for American help, we should not welcome it if it involved the direction of our vital economic affairs by any authority not answerable to the verdict of British public opinion. If American capital is to be made available to modernize and expand the British steel industry, it must be on terms that will not involve surrender of control into the hands of any agency not responsible to the British Parliament and people. One reason—though not the main one—why I want to get the key sections of the British steel industry transferred as soon as possible to public ownership is that I wish to avert once and for all the danger of the control of policy in so vital an industry passing, even in part, into irresponsible foreign hands.

Of course, doctrinaire opponents of public enterprise will oppose the nationalization of steel production, in whatever form and under whatever auspices it may be proposed. Inevitably, the coming battle over steel will be, in one of its aspects, a struggle between Socialists and anti-Socialists, in which the precise form of nationalization will not matter to the disputants, because their minds are already made up on the one or the other side. But I can lay my hand on my heart, with the assurance that many of my fellow Socialists will agree with me, and say that I by no means want to see all industries nationalized, irrespective of the particular arguments applicable to each individual case, and that I should have been opposed to any plan of steel nationalization that would have involved the transference of so complex and diverse an industry to any form of centralized bureaucratic administration.

A good bill. I am in favor of the government's Steel Bill because I believe it to be a thoroughly good bill, calculated to preserve what is valuable in the existing structure and management of the industry while removing from it the taint of restrictive monopoly and ensuring that its policy shall in future be guided by considerations of national rather than sectional advantage. I feel, moreover, a fair amount of assurance that, as the arguments on both sides come to be fully deployed during the bill's passage through Parliament, the balance of public opinion will swing in favor of public ownership, rather than against it, and the technical and managerial personnel of the industry will become steadily more favorable to a plan which offers it, much more than private monopoly can do, the prospect of thorough modernization and reëquipment and of expansive policy unchecked by monopolistic fears of redundant capacity in face of a depression.

I am not at all afraid to see steel made a political issue at the next General Election. Most people, I agree, have no very clear or defined views on the matter as yet; but the more the case is argued, the more reasonable will the judgment appear that, where the only choice is between restrictive private monopoly and development under non-bureaucratic public administration, the national interest will be best served by accepting the government's bill, pretty much in the form in which it stands today.

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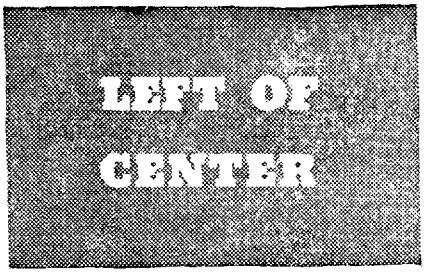

THE CASE of Anna Louise Strong is currently the "best-selling" mystery in leftist circles. Many theories have been advanced to explain the circumstances that led to her fall from grace, but nobody seems to believe she was guilty of espionage.

The Communist *Daily Worker* was caught flatfooted by the Soviets' description of Miss Strong as "the notorious intelligence agent." Three days before—February 11—the *Worker* practically nominated her for the Pulitzer Prize. In a book review, Ben Levine proposed: "Anna Louise Strong would long ago have received the Pulitzer Prize for foreign news reporting, if the Pulitzer Prize committee were not guided by political considerations." Three days later, the *Worker* printed the news report on Anna Louise Strong's expulsion from the Soviet Union for "espionage and subversive activity"—without comment.

The *National Guardian,* Progressive Party weekly, reports an "exclusive" interview with Miss Strong, who, five months ago, "left for the Soviet Union as correspondent for the *National Guardian.*" The publication reports that "she was never told what the charges against her were. But she knew that in her efforts to get to Communist China, she had annoyed certain Moscow officials." Miss Strong is credited with saying that the real responsibility for her ejection from Russia rests with America because the US press had created a world hysteria, and "in such an atmosphere it was understandable that Americans seeking news should be accused of spying."

Labor Action, the Workers' Party publication, maintains that the case of Anna Louise Strong "is an incident in the silent struggle between Russian imperialist objectives in China and the needs of the Chinese Communist Party." According to this theory, the Soviet Union fears a Chinese Tito and hence is eager to destroy the influence of all those in the world Communist movement who are friendly to the leadership of Chinese Communism.

Part of the guessing revolves around the question of the nation for which Anna Louise Strong was spying. The Soviets did not specify. Tito hastened to clear his skirts by publishing a letter from Miss Strong to prove that her activities were very much under direct Soviet supervision. In this letter, she points out that her latest book—*Tomorrow's China*—was revised by the editor of the Soviet Information Bureau in Moscow.

New York Notes, an obscure little journal of oppositionist Stalinists, runs an item to the effect that in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of February 16 there appeared an interview with Mrs. Charles H. Niederhauser, sister of Anna Louise Strong, in which the former is quoted as saying that "some time ago in a private conversation, she [Miss Strong] did openly criticize Russia for its attitude toward Tito and the Yugoslavian government."

This much-ado-about-Strong may have profound repercussions in leftist circles here. If the *National Guardian* continues to harbor this "notorious spy," Communists will have to destroy both the *Guardian* and the Progressive Party; the already isolated Communists may be forced further into solitary confinement.

Labor unity and farm unity seem to proceed willy-nilly at a rather steady pace, although without any regular planning or centralizing agency. The Democratic National Committee served to bring together the AFL's William Green, the CIO's James Carey, the IAM's Harvey Brown, aand the Railway Clerks' George Harrison on a nationwide radio broadcast devoted to the Taft-Hartley Act as one step in the President's campaign to force Congress to keep its pledges.

Apparently labor unity progresses most rapidly in adversity. Congressional delay in putting through the 1948 platform is stirring labor into action once more. The Trade Union Committee of the Liberal Party in New York City called a meeting of labor heads that was far and away the most representative gathering the Liberal Party has ever sponsored. The cementing force, again, was congressional delay.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America points up the need for continued labor pressure on Congress by publishing an "applause chart": the amount of applause congressmen gave to Truman's proposals in his State of the Union speech. With Truman's entry marked as 10, the rating for Taft-Hartley repeal was 8; for aid to education and the reciprocal-trade program, 7; for widening social security, 5; for medical insurance and civil rights, 4; for stronger anti-trust laws, 3; for controlling tidelands oil, 2; and virtual zero for more low-cost housing and higher taxes.

Just as repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, minimum-wage legislation, etc., are the unifying forces for the labor movement, so, too, certain issues are natural unifiers of labor-farmer political action. In a campaign for a Columbia Valley Authority eleven Pacific Northwest Farmer-Labor organizations met in Portland, Oregon. Present were the Washington, Oregon and Idaho Federations of Labor; the Washington and Oregon state Granges; the International Woodworkers of America, CIO; and the Farmers' Union of Idaho, Oregon and Montana. That the conference meant business was proved by the decision to levy a two-cent per-capita tax on its members to fight for the CVA.

In South Dakota a new Progressive Political Alliance has been formed, "springing originally from a county council whose delegates were elected from each farm and labor local union in the county." In Iowa the AFL, the CIO, independent unions and farmers, who united their forces on Election Day to elect a Republican Governor and a Democratic President, have set up a statewide committee to act as a mass lobby.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

NO LONGER A MATTER OF LITERATURE

by Babette Deutsch

YEATS: THE MAN AND THE MASKS, by Richard Ellmann (The Macmillan Company; $5).
NEW IRISH POETS, edited by Devin A. Garrity, with woodcuts by Harry Kernoff (The Devin-Adair Company; $3.50).

THERE IS A SENTENCE from the book that Yeats entitled *Autobiographies* which his biographer might have used as an epigraph to the present work: " 'If I can be sincere and make my language natural, and without becoming discursive, like a novelist, and so indiscreet and prosaic,' I said to myself, 'I shall, if good luck or bad luck make my life interesting, be a great poet, for it will be no longer a matter of literature at all.' "

Not without difficulty, Yeats learned to make his language natural. Both good luck and bad made his life interesting: he knew poverty and humiliation, suffered the misery of "returned yet unrequited love," was involved in the dismal battles of a small oppressed nation, lived through the brutalities of civil war, tasted the dead sea fruit of accomplishment. To offset all this, he was most fortunate in his heritage, not least in having his father, John Butler Yeats, to learn from, to rebel against, to return to; he was intimate with three generations of distinguished poets, painters and revolutionary patriots; he received the highest public honors that can be accorded any man, and he came to realize, if belatedly, the deep satisfaction of happiness in his personal life. He was a great poet. Was it no longer a matter of literature at all?

As the author of this new biography appreciates, no simple answer can be given to that question. At the outset he quotes Thomas Nashe to the effect that a poet has a "double soul," and in tracing the development of Yeats's mind he is compelled to move from the work to the life and back again. The biographer cites Yeats's remark that he had no sympathy with the mid-Victorian view "that a poet's life concerns nobody but himself. A poet is by the very nature of things a man who lives with entire sincerity, or rather, the better his poetry, the more sincere his life."

What Yeats called the mid-Victorian attitude is that of contemporary criticism, which tends to look away from the poet to the poem, as though it were a rootless thing. Indeed, the fact that we know next to nothing about our greatest poet has not invalidated "Hamlet" or "Coriolanus" or "Lear," and it seems doubtful whether fuller knowledge of his life would substantially increase our understanding of their immensities. With Yeats the matter is somewhat different, since his poetry is largely autobiographical and extremely private in its symbolism. Moreover, sincere though he was in his effort to come to grips with fundamentals, the man only succeeded in finding himself, as all familiar with his work know and as the title of Richard Ellmann's book emphasizes, by trying on one mask after another, exalting personality at the expense of character, discovering in character, which defines itself in the will to action, an element of personality, which lives by the desire for inward harmony.

As this biographer seeks to show, "the reconcilement of opposites was for Yeats a secular miracle, the key to his verse, his private system, and his life." So we find the contemplative poet who wanted to build a Castle of Heroes mired in the actualities of Irish politics, the dream-devoted founder of the Abbey Theatre wondering how far he was responsible for the tears and blood of Easter Week, the aged visionary composing songs of lust and rage, the Free State senator constructing an elaborate metaphysical system which would help him, in his own words, "to hold in one thought reality and justice." Whether his effort at self-realization came by way of joining the Hermetic Students of the Golden Dawn or of joining the Irish Republican Brotherhood, whether he was putting on the mask of Ahern or Robartes, of William Blake or Jonathan Swift, his objective was the same, and though his self-wrought epitaph bore the admonition to

> Cast a cold eye
> On life, on death . . .

he lived and worked with passionate intensity. Nothing less could sustain the tension between the two powerful halves of his nature.

To present in all its complexity and with a feeling for its unity the story of Yeats's life demands great gifts. Ellmann is equipped with some essential ones. He is possessed of a far finer scholarly and critical apparatus than Yeats's previous biographer, and he seems to have a warmer interest in his subject. He had the advantage of being allowed access to a great deal of unpublished material, including the poet's notebooks, and first drafts of both verse and prose, all of which he has used skillfully. His book is furnished with ample notes and these, like the index, are admirably arranged. There are some ambiguous, some doubtful, and a few contradictory passages, but Ellmann is only rarely guilty of using such aseptically malodorous words as "maladjustment" or "spasmic" (this with reference to Yeats's poetry), and he has flashes of pleasant wit.

If his book is wanting, it is in just that quality of gusto, that sense of vigorous life which redeemed from in-

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substantiality the most abstract poems of the man about whom he writes. Yeats tried, as he observed in a letter to a friend, to include in his definition of water "a little duck-weed or a few fish. I have never met," said he, "that poor naked creature, H_2O." Ellmann's book is not naked, but it is not well-fleshed. As might be expected, its most notable passages, aside from the poems cited, are the quotations from Yeats and from his too little known father.

To read about Yeats, and even more, to read his own works, is to realize afresh that poetry is rooted in the substance of daily living and dying as the abstract constructions of the philosopher can never be; and that yet, like philosophy, it has to do with first and last things. Anyone who is not concerned with mere survival or content with animal ease follows the road of the philosopher and the poet —seeks, if only intermittently and always with dubious success, to approach some understanding of the estate of man, and to achieve such integrity as it allows. Yeats's poetry justified all the mistakes and stupidities and failures that this struggle entailed. The greatness of his mature work is that it takes full account of them while affirming his image of reality. Ellmann's biography returns us to his poems, incandescent with vision, crammed with life.

Yeats had hoped to restore to his countrymen a fund of legend that, by helping native art to fresh strength and splendor, would bring Ireland cultural unity. His dream was not realized. Nevertheless, Yeats's work gave a different character to Irish poetry. He himself attributed the masculinity of twentieth-century Irish verse to John Synge and its heroic gayety to the challenge of the times. But his own example was, of course, of immense importance, even to those who did not take his poetry for a model. The anthology assembled by Devin Garrity has traces of Yeats's influence on many pages—in the turn of a phrase, the fall of a cadence, the use of the refrain, above all, in the removal of rhetoric and other impurities.

The editor's taste leans slightly toward the elegiac, and one misses a few of the good things in MacDonagh's recent collection. This offers, however, an ampler view of young Ireland. The contributors include men and women of diverse religious and political convictions and with various backgrounds. Unfortunately, poets who have had books published here are not included, and so not only MacNeice and Rodgers and Kavanagh go unrepresented, but also Thomas McGreevy, whose slight but memorable volume has long been unavailable. Colum and Gogarty are not even mentioned, presumably because they are not "new," and one misses, along with the late Joseph Campbell, his junior, F. R. Higgins, whose work is quite as contemporary as that of Austin Clarke even if he is no longer among the living. Of course, the great majority here are the young. The book is illustrated with some vigorous but overly conventional woodcuts by Harry Kernoff, and is provided both with biographical notes and photographs of the writers appearing in it.

While it does not come up to expectations, *New Irish Poets* is yet most welcome. There are a number of admirable lyrics in it, and more than one poet whose work should have greater recognition here. None is of a stature that would allow him to strut in Yeats's mantle, but Padraic Fallon need borrow no man's coat to catch the eye. These poets are free alike of esoteric intellectualizing and of the more recently fashionable extravagant romanticizing. Their poetry, at its best, combines a somber realism with a gay raciness in a fashion that seems peculiarly Irish. It is perhaps essentially the bequest of Yeats. For it was a sense of reality that, in spite of all his hungry mysticism, he brought back to Irish verse.

There is a lyric here by Padraic Fiacc called "The Boy and the Geese" that, though not very good, gives the gist of the matter. The swans, says the boy, have beauty and grace and might, but he "would rather have geese for they're ugly like me / And because they're ugly, as ugly can be / I would rather have geese for their mystery." It is for the mystery of the geese that one returns to these pages.

Babette Deutsch is the author of Take Them, Stranger and The Reader's Shakespeare. She is currently working on a book on modern English poetry and lecturing on the same subject at Columbia.

THE KNIFE SLIPS

SCOTT-KING'S MODERN EUROPE, by Evelyn Waugh (Little, Brown; $2).

THIS PONY NOVEL by the *enfant terrible* of contemporary English letters made its first appearance more than a year ago, under the title *A Sojourn in Neutralia*, in Hearst's *Cosmopolitan*, a publication not notorious for the astringency of its satire. Now that it has been put between boards and has resumed its own name, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* seems rather less impressive than it did under gloss. In a setting of prefabricated fiction and puréed articles, Evelyn Waugh, even noticeably off his stride, had at least the distinction of egregiousness, like a celebrity with a hangover at a women's-club luncheon.

In this new, or perhaps I should say current, story, Waugh directs his satire at the totalitarian state, an aspect of modern Europe which Waugh, as an individualist and a conservative Catholic, views with a special loathing. Such a subject clearly offers rich opportunities to a satirical gift as great as his, and I admit that my disappointment in these 89 skimped and slapdash pages was in direct proportion to my expectations.

Scott-King is a scholarly middle-aged master at a typical English public school, where for twenty years, against the increasing emphasis upon science and economics, he has tended the flame of the classics. He suffers from two of the diseases of our time: world-guilt and world-pain, but endures them with a kind of hypochondria. He is both appalled and fascinated by the decadence of the modern world, and finds a masochistic stimulation in surveying the spread of barbarism, as he takes a perverse comfort in the climate of his own obscurity and failure.

In this frame of mind he discovers

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a kinship and exquisite communication in the work of Bellorius, a dim, forgotten, seventeenth-century poet who had written a long Utopian poem and had died without recognition in what was once "a happy kingdom of the Habsburg Empire" and is now, in 1946, the dictator-state of Neutralia. Neutralia has been formed out of "dynastic wars, foreign invasion, disputed successions, revolting colonies, endemic syphilis, impoverished soil, masonic intrigues, revolutions, restorations, cabals, juntas, pronunciamentos, liberations, constitutions, *coups d'état*, dictatorships, assassinations, agrarian reforms, popular elections, foreign intervention, repudiation of loans, inflations of currency, trades unions, massacres, arson, atheism, secret societies." Although Waugh informs us that the Republic of Neutralia is "imaginary and composite and represents no existing state," the above can serve as a handy reference catalogue for almost any one of the several European countries now in the Russian sphere of influence.

When Scott-King's enthusiastic paper on Bellorius is given a modest circulation, he is surprised and a little dismayed by an official invitation to visit Neutralia upon the occasion of the Bellorius Tercentennial. In company with Whitemaid, a bibulous professor of Roman Law, and a Miss Bombaum, a vaguely American (she says "I reckon") news-hen, Scott-King is flown to the capital.

It was at this point that I began to have the impression that Evelyn Waugh was doing a libretto for Bobby Clark. Perhaps so relaxed and inspired a comedian could make something out of the fact that Scott-King's place card at a formal dinner read "Scotch-Kink," that Whitemaid got tight and made an incomprehensible speech, that he was later discovered in a hotel bedroom with a voluptuous lady athlete clad in a bath towel, and that Scott-King suffered a prolonged attack of hiccoughs during that dinner. I did not find it very funny and am still at a loss as to its relevance.

The rest of the story is a staggering pyramid of frustrations: the delegates are tricked into laying a wreath before a statue of the current dictator instead of the tomb of Bellorius; two of them disappear mysteriously, supposedly at the hands of the rebels in the hills; there is some witty dialogue in which Waugh flashes into his old form, and some which is not so witty, depending, as in "Scotch-Kink," upon mispronunciations and language difficulties. Gradually the skeins of red tape entwine about Scott-King until he approaches mummification. Having been invited to visit Neutralia, he discovers that he is lost in an elaborate bureaucratic maze and cannot get out. Finally, at great cost and at peril of his life, he is smuggled out by the underground, only to find himself in a Jewish Illicit Immigrants' Camp in Palestine.

Safely back at school, Scott-King, slowly emerging from shock, for the first time in his life articulates his conviction:

"If you approve, headmaster, I will stay as long as any boy wants to read the classics. I think it would be very wicked indeed to do anything to fit a boy for the modern world."

"It is a short-sighted view, Scott-King."

"There, headmaster, with all respect, I differ from you profoundly. I think it is the most long-sighted view it is possible to take."

That is a brave and lonely statement, and one which I am convinced Evelyn Waugh believes profoundly. As such, it is sadly out of key with hiccough-humor, with the schoolboy plays on words and obvious situations which clutter this little book. One feels that Waugh wrote this as he went along, without much care, to get it done and over with. On page 86, nearly at the end of the book, he seems to have wandered without realizing it into an area of tragedy he had not intended. When Scott-King finds himself on the boat bearing displaced Jews to the then forbidden Palestine, Waugh brings himself up abruptly. It struck me that there was embarrassment and apology in the paragraph which begins: "This is the story of a summer holiday: a light tale. It treats, at the worst, with solid discomfort and intellectual doubt. It would be inappropriate to speak here of those depths of the human spirit, the agony and despair, of the next few days of Scott-King's life." It seemed inappropriate, in a "light tale," "the story of a summer's holiday"—a story keyed pretty generally to the guffaw—to introduce that tragic predicament at all.

It is, I suppose, impertinent, but I cannot help speculating as to what pressures caused Evelyn Waugh to do so little with this theme, when there was so much awaiting his hand. If there were pressures, and certainly they are understandable in Waugh's Modern Europe, then, as a satirist of consistently high performance, it would seem that he was taking the most shortsighted view it is possible to take.

JOHN WOODBURN

COOPERATION, LIMITED

JOB HORIZONS, by Lloyd G. Reynolds and Joseph Shister (Harper; $2.25).
SOCIAL CLASS INFLUENCES UPON LEARNING (The Inglis Lecture, 1948), by Allison Davis (The Harvard University Press; Cloth, $1.50; paper, $1).

THE FINDINGS of two sets of research moles are converging. They won't like what they find when they bump noses.

Big business is financing social scientists to study "human relations in industry" with the aim of "adjusting" workers to the aims of industry. The stated goal is "management-labor cooperation," and it assumes that no fundamental differences separate the two agents of production.

Burrowing nearby, another crew of investigators is discovering that persons born, respectively, at low, medium and high-income levels develop from earliest infancy habits of thought, feeling and action ("character structure") that dispose the members of each level to act and feel differently and operate to keep the groups apart.

Reynolds and Shister, operating from the Yale Labor and Management Center, interviewed 800 workers in a medium-sized Connecticut city in 1947 to find out why they choose and

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leave jobs, and what a "good" job and "opportunity" mean to them.

They found that wages are not so exclusively important as often assumed; that the physical and social settings of the job are important; that workers vary as regards the aspects of the job that interest them; that men like to have some say about what they do; that workers more commonly quit one job and then look for another than locate the new job before they quit; that workers had, even in 1947, a chronic orientation to jobs as "scarce"; that size of plant seems to have some influence on chance of advancement, with the advantage in plants of more than 500 employees.

And yet their report leaves one with a strangely frustrated feeling about the prospects for "coöperation." Crude managerial techniques can be softened, inadequate washrooms improved and other amenities provided, and both sides can coöperate in reducing plant accidents; but a momentous, intractable something remains. It is the blurred fumbling and deadened choices that seem to characterize these workers' pursuit of livelihood.

The largest percentage of workers had found employment before finishing high school or trade school because their earning power was needed to help support their families. Workers, we are told, are rarely in a position to make the kind of rational job choices contemplated in economic theory. Informal methods of learning about jobs predominate: "I just happened to be riding around and saw this place. I knew it was a tool factory and had a lot of machine work, so I went in and I got the job."

Sixty-seven percent of the long-service workers had had no change of work assignment since coming with their present employer, and another five percent had been down-graded to poorer jobs. "Most companies hope and believe that all employees have a chance to advance, and that over the course of the years most of them will actually advance to higher positions. This hope is apparently fulfilled for only a minority of the work force. . . . This is a basic fact of working-class life." "By the age of twenty-five, the orbit in which he will move for the rest of his life is firmly established." But "the worker learns to set bounds to his occupational ambitions . . . ; [his] hopes soon wither before the realities of industrial employment." And so "Only 12 percent in the sample [of 450 generally older men] and 22 percent in [the sample of 350 generally younger men] were actively dissatisfied." More than half of even the older group had no occupational plans for their children.

The desire for interesting work seems to be strongly correlated with the amount of education the worker has had. "The fact that a considerable proportion of workers have no desire to rise beyond their present jobs is undoubtedly a fortunate thing"; for "even with ideal placement facilities, there will be a good deal of initiative and ambition which cannot be used in modern industry. A higher level of education is producing a rising demand for interesting and responsible jobs, while at the same time technological progress is probably reducing the number of such jobs available."

This all sounds suspiciously like the workings of class under capitalism, by which, as Marx pointed out, the workers "find their conditions of existence predestined, and hence have their position in life and their personal development assigned to them by their class." And if that is what it is, most of the fine talk about "coöperation" which industry and its research experts are fostering simply evaporates.

Industry would like to avoid this conclusion, but the other set of research moles makes the facts of class stratification steadily clearer. Davis, a professor of Education at the University of Chicago, documents from the findings of psychologists and educators the following:

> In spite of certain universal similarities . . . which appear in our society, the social conditions under which persons have access to fundamental biological and social goals are differentiated in many respects by a system of privilege. . . . [The individual's] opportunities for social learning are limited by the pressure which he receives from groups above and below him to restrict his social participation, that is, to "keep him in his social place." The effect of such pressure is usually to prevent him from learning new habits, and thus from increasing his social and economic privileges.

Educators and psychologists, too, tend to avoid the acknowledgement of class in its stark economic sense, as Volume I, on the goals of education, of the recent report of the President's Commission on Higher Education reveals. The authors of both the books reviewed above are critical of the shortcomings of education. But the capitalist social sickness cannot be cured by education any more than it can by "coöperation." ROBERT S. LYND

FICTION PARADE

DESCENT INTO HELL, by Charles Williams (Pelligrini & Cudahy; $2.75)
THE CHRISTMAS TREE, by Isabel Bolton (Charles Scribner's Sons; $2.75).

CHARLES WILLIAMS was posthumously introduced to American readers last autumn by the publication of *All Hallow's Eve*. That was a shrewd choice for a beginning, but intriguing as it was, *Descent into Hell* is a better book. It is more skillfully organized and what Williams has to say he says more directly in terms we feel are exclusively his own, independent of the paraphernalia of black magic that somewhat muddied the earlier book.

What concerns Williams is an extremely personal (occasionally even private) vision of the moral struggle that goes on in human beings. This is not conveyed by the story in the usual sense. There is a situation, the production of a summer pageant, which serves to introduce the characters, and place them and keep them at least remotely in relation to one another. And that's about all there is at the level of dramatic action—where most fiction is situated. The moral struggle of the characters is curiously unrelated to their objective lives and human relations; scarcely an external twitch signals the interior choice that saves or damns. Among his people, a

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moral decision does not result in action: it is the *end* of an action that is all interior and alone.

This interior, of course, has its own landscape, and if it resembles the external world, that is because the two are inextricably mixed: "A single clock ticks or a single door opens in two worlds at once." In the same way, the world of the dead is imposed on the world of the living. The actual locale is Battle Hill, a suburb of London which has been the scene, at one time or another, of war, of martyrdom and, more recently, of suicide. "Time there had disappeared and the dead . . . had been contemporaneous with the living. As if simultaneity approached the hill, the experiences of its inhabitants had there become coeval; propinquity no longer depended upon sequence."

The conflict is defined by the opposing forces of Zion and Gomorrah. Zion is permitted to define itself; Gomorrah is the habitation of "those men and women who had lost humanity in their extreme love of themselves amongst humanity." Here "there's no distinction between lover and beloved; they beget themselves on their adoration of themselves, and they live and feed and starve on themselves, and by themselves too." In other words, Hell.

On Battle Hill, Lawrence Wentworth is a scholar who seeks in his studies merely the gratification of personal pride. He turns from the love of an actual woman to his image of that woman, which he prefers because it originates with himself, "always and everywhere his." In this passion (presented with a horrible reality) "he wanted . . . to shut himself wholly away from the world in a sepulcher of desire and satiety and renewed desire." The point is made explicitly and vividly when "he went . . . down the soft swift stairs of his mind, into the streets of his mind, to find the phantoms of his mind. He desired Hell."

Gomorrah, or Hell, Williams portrays brilliantly as a self-determined loneliness. He can do this because the evil which creates it can be demonstrated psychologically, and its atmosphere can be described in the emotional confusion of terror and despair. Zion doesn't come off so well. Divorced as it is here from all recognizable human context, Williams' order of values dissolves in mere moralizing without reference to a morality. Good is a sort of loving-kindness, a sharing of burdens by participation in the human lot. Virtue is not a triumph here. Isolated from struggle as we understand it in dramatic terms, it is not even difficult—simply a joining of hands. And the consequent beatitude is appropriately wan: not to be "frightened or disappointed or ashamed any more." Fortunately, this is of minor consequence. *Descent into Hell* is not intended as Williams' Paradiso.

The Christmas Tree begins well. An old lady, in planning a tree for her grandson, reflects on the Christmases of her youth and recreates a limited but delightful picture of that season in an older New York. Between that time and the present lies her life, including the life of her son, who is suffering, we are given to understand, from a complexus of emotional dislocations more or less attributable to his mother. Although their relationship is the sum of the story, we never get close to it. It is explained in psychiatric jargon, which never accounts for anything in fiction; it merely creates a dramatic vacuum.

At the climax of the story, the son is moved to murder his rival (for his wife and child)—a man "so whole and hale and what you couldn't but call 'adjusted'." This crime seems to have a salutary effect on the Oedipus complex; at any rate, as he and his mother wait for the police, "their reconciliation had been absolute—a few brief moments in which they had been unconscious of any need outside the necessity for physical nearness, dearness, a sense of safety in each other's love." They are satisfied that "his getting off to Sing Sing to pay the final penalty, would be merely a part, an infinitesimal part of the monstrous, wholesale and unspeakable melodrama that was afflicting the world today." The dramatic vacuum, we can easily see, is filled by a rush of emotive verbiage. JOHN FARRELLY

Crime and Punishment

The Innocent, by Evelyn Piper (Simon and Schuster; $2.50). Claire Carter's sudden death made possible the marriage of her incredibly handsome husband to his true love, Marjorie. According to the doctors, Claire died of a rare disease known as "status thymicolymthaticus," but Marjorie gets a nasty jolt—and an entirely different slant—from reading the diary Claire had so carefully hidden. How Marjorie just manages to save her own life makes an absorbing study in suspense.

The Hangman's Tree, by Dorothy Cameron Disney (Random House; $2.50). Helen Hokinson ladies are going to get a terrific belt out of this tale of Southern aristocracy, old scandals brought to light, chivalry, and two murders, all taking place during Charleston's Azalea Festival. Dr. Victoria Grant, a sensible Northern type, is visibly overcome by her fancy surroundings and wastes a lot of time assembling a cluttered puzzle.

The Cabinda Affair, by Matthew Head (Simon and Schuster; $2), has atmosphere and character. Two men working for the US War Contracts Settlements Commission in the French Congo run up against a highly perplexing deal in valuable (to the Air Force) mahogany. Two murders, which further muddy the picture, follow. Authentic setting, good characterization and literate dialogue rate an A.

Murder Miscellany.—Margery Allingham's *More Work for the Undertaker* (Doubleday; $2.50) turns out to be a tortured exercise in lethal antics among England's intellectual lunatic fringe. Not even Albert Campion can save this one. *Blue Harpsichord,* by David Keith (Dodd, Mead; $2.50), is a skillful and witty excursion into various strata of the New York entertainment scene; and *Gilbert's Last Toothache,* by Margaret Scherf (Crime Club; $2.25), has a sight of chuckles for those who like their homicides served up with folksy touches. For those sure they can take it, I recommend *Nothing More Than Murder,* by Jim Thompson (Harper; $2.50), the grimmest tale in several seasons. E.H.

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ON THE AIR: The Vanishing Writer

THERE IS a new radio program on CBS, Sunday afternoons at 5:30, entitled "Broadway's My Beat." The writer is Peter Lyon. One of the most discerning of radio anthologists, Erik Barnouw, has called a short sketch written by Lyon back in 1945 "an example of radio pamphleteering at its most agile." That playlet had the temerity to tackle the Bretton Woods agreement. Henry Morgenthau Jr., then Secretary of the Treasury, was reported to have been at first appalled by the writer's brashness, then to have conceded, after hearing the show: "Now at last I understand what Bretton Woods is all about."

Lyon's gift is for lucid exposition. When radio gives him the opportunity, he can be one of the most vivid practitioners in the "cartoon style" of dramatization. That method draws pictures, aurally, in bold lines and broad strokes perceptible to the untrained ear. The early "March of Time" documentary capsules, on which Lyon cut his radio teeth, were done as cartoons. So were some of Lyon's war programs for the OWI, and later for the CIO's "Labor—USA," in a period when broadcasters had not only pride but writers.

Now a Lyon is relegated to "Broadway's My Beat." What's wanted is not cartoon but caricature. The principal character is a detective who covers Times Square. His glib gossip-column patter is not the speech of any people one recognizes. Naturally, he knows every stage doorman by his first name, always calls the Hotel Astor cigar-counter girl "Lover," and is a pal of every waiter at Sardi's, every drama critic on Forty-fifth Street and every ticket speculator on Forty-third.

That's how radio now uses a top writer, if he has a weakness for eating three meals a day. Not every radio writer can afford to tell the field to go to hell as Arthur Miller has done. Miller is in the same Barnouw anthology (*Radio Drama in Action*) in which Lyon's early program appears. Of 25 others there, only Morton Wishengrad is on the air regularly now.

Norman Corwin is no longer under contract to CBS. He is preparing a full-hour documentary to be broadcast by that network in June and doing some radio work for the United Nations, but his main current interest is in a play he is writing for Broadway production. Norman Rosten is composing poetry and working on a play. Millard Lampell has recently finished a novel. William N. Robson is directing radio but not writing, and Arthur Laurents is beating his brains out in Hollywood. Arch Oboler has

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ambitious plans for a comeback, but it's a long time since his name has been heard on the air. The list of the missing includes Ranald MacDougall, Bernard V. Dryer, Sandra Michael, Roi Ottley—names that helped make radio exciting for a few years. But broadcasting no longer wants creative writers. At most, it whips them into adapters, as does television.

The best of current television—the drama department—is the work of producers, directors, actors, cameramen, technicians, with now and then a bone thrown to a designer of sets or a costumer. It takes skill to adapt "Julius Cæsar" to a single hour on CBS-TV, and to compress "The Druid Circle" into about 54 minutes of playing time on NBC-TV. But it is the craftsmanship of the carpenter, not of the architect. The writers want to continue in radio, and do their own type of work—not whodunits, or continuity for giveaway shows, or adaptations of other people's bright ideas. But the broadcaster's desire for art on radio went out with the surtax. And television "can't afford" writers: the gadgetry costs too much.

That video gadget did, however, bring forth two superb productions in the last week. Both the CBS "Julius Cæsar" on "Studio One" and the NBC version of "The Druid Circle" on "Philco Theatre" were mounted with taste and executed with artistry.

To Worthington Miner goes the chief credit for the Shakespeare hour, done in modern dress and acted with convincing fluidity by Robert Keith as Brutus, Philip Bourneuf as Marc Antony and John O'Shaughnessy as Cassius. William Post Jr., as Cæsar, seemed embarrassed by reciting Elizabethan poetry in a storm-trooper's shirt. But his weakness was lost in the large cast maneuvered with precision by director Paul Nickell. Richard Rychtarik executed sensibly proportioned sets which, in their blandness and lack of attempt at phony "atmosphere," kept the focus on the actors.

Frederick Coe, who slipped somewhat when he chose "Twelfth Night" for his NBC-Philco program recently, more than made up for it with "The Druid Circle." He was helped a great deal by the fact that he had in his cast two of the troupe who had done the play originally on Broadway—Leo G. Carroll and Ethel Griffies. He surrounded them with first-rate actors, placed them against Robert Wade sets that made them feel thoroughly at home, and played them naturally in front of cameras that knew where they were focusing and why.

Miner and Coe left one feeling grateful for television, warm toward broadcasting. But the problem of the neglected writer is still real and remains unsolved. It calls for far broader development than is possible here, and a seminar could be arranged easily enough. But who shall be invited: Broadcasters, the members of the FCC, or the public? SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: Footlight Chat No. IV

MELVYN DOUGLAS must be a very modest man. Most actors on their return to the stage from Hollywood insist on a sensational role for themselves in a play they feel certain is likely to create a great deal of talk. Douglas' part in Samuel Spewack's "Two Blind Mice" is genially conventional, the kind of thing he has done with monotonous success in countless movies. The play itself is intermittently funny, an hour and a half skit, that at any given point seems to be only ten minutes long. Nothing distinguishes it except that it kids Washington dunderheads, and thus might be said to have tinkling overtones of importance. If Douglas expects to remain on Broadway—and I hope he does—it was perfectly proper (as it always is for a practising actor, as differentiated from a Gotham guest) to choose the first pleasant part and play he could find.

Speaking of actors, the other day I came across a statement by Samuel Johnson in connection with David Garrick. "The player," Johnson said, "only recites." Charles Lamb said much the same thing in a famous essay on Shakespeare. Both these eminences were wrong. Being an elocutionist is not being an actor. Acting is not primarily related to words at all.

To act on the stage means to behave under "unreal" or imaginary circumstances as though these circumstances were real. In this definition the word "behave" is crucial. Mimic ability or a capacity to imitate is valuable to an actor, but acting is not imitation. When I speak of "behavior" on the stage I mean that the actor must bring to each moment of his role a sense of fully experienced truth—physical and spiritual—within the circumstances of that moment: he must see, hear, move, react and feel with

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organic completeness and definite intention. This has little to do with "realism." The actor "forgets" himself in his role, yet always knows that he is playing, and that the object of his performance is to entertain.

There are people of engaging presence on the stage who though they have acquired facility in public deportment are not in my sense actors. They are not transformed by the imaginative reality of the circumstances which the stage calls upon them to face. The play's words and situations and our will-to-believe make them seem to be acting. They are sometimes referred to as "personalities."

Personality in an actor is of two kinds. The first relates to what might be called social personality—such as we remark in a pretty girl, a charming man, a funny fellow, etc.—characteristics which may or may not contribute to acting talent. The second kind of personality has to do with the actor as an instrument. A person of fluent emotional nature, quick sensory reaction, mobility of inner constitution, a person with an expressive voice, striking mask, natural grace, commanding figure, imagination, impressionability and temperament, ought to provide the best acting material.

When Tallulah Bankhead and Charles Boyer are called "superb" what is meant is that they do indeed *act,* and that they are, in addition to this, striking media or instruments for the stage. For final distinction in acting still another element must be present—illuminating interpretation.

"Interpretation" is a word often loosely used to indicate almost anything the actor happens to do with his part. More strictly, it should apply to what the actor chooses his part to mean. We call a writer "good" not simply to compliment his skill in the use of language but to approve his content. One may agree that an actor shows interesting skill and yet find in him a lack, or a falsity, of interpretation. Boyer's Hoederer in "Red Gloves" seemed to me to have very little interpretation, just as the Morley of "Edward, My Son"—part social wit and part actor—strikes me as an amusing and fortunate "misinterpretation."

I have seen actors give remarkable acting performances in plays which they virtually wrecked. Years ago Jacob Ben-Ami played the name part in Giraudoux's "Siegfried," a play about a Frenchman who, having lost his memory in the war, gains a high post in German diplomacy. Ben-Ami gave an unforgettable portrayal of the tragedy of living one's life without memory of one's past, but the play happened to be a comedy about the delightful difference between the French and German mentality.

The interpretation of a part may sometimes be solely the actor's work. It may even be wise to allow a player of profound intuition to make a part entirely his own. Indeed the very choice of a certain player (Laufette Taylor, let us say) may be a sign that the director has agreed to give his production the stamp of that actor's quality. Yet in sound theatre practice the director should be held responsible for the over-all interpretation of a play and its parts. The director should not only set the outline of the actor's interpretation but help him find the method for its concrete embodiment.

Critics often fail to distinguish between the acting and direction of a play because they conceive the director's function as an editorial one, concerned chiefly with technical neatness, pace, mechanics.

In my final chat in this series I shall discuss direction in the light of interpretive content. In the meantime I should like to add that our actors have more real personality than would appear from their performances, and are usually capable of greater interpretive values in their playing than we see. The fault here may be ascribed, to a considerable extent, to our directors, but even more to the chaos of our theatre, which makes a haphazard thing of the relation between actor and director: at the beginning of rehearsals actor and director rarely know each other and are at times even leery of each other.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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In The
New Republic

MOVIES: Steinbeck and Satan

THERE IS ONE SCENE in "The Red Pony" that will be widely recalled and shuddered over in the weeks ahead. It occurs when the boy, Tom (Peter Miles), finds his little horse dead in a ravine with vultures perched on its body. He seizes one of the big birds and the resulting struggle is bloody and frightening, full of a sickening horror.

Except for this brutal but effective moment, the picture is played in a key of uneasy emotionalism that never quite escapes being maudlin. The tone of the Steinbeck story rested on its understanding of a boy's hopes and anguish, and Milestone has not been able to elicit any real strength of response from Peter Miles. He is a fragile child with a sensitive face that shows curiously little feeling. His passions seem largely tantrums and his affection too surface to be very moving.

Of the adult supporting cast, Robert Mitchum, as the ranch hand and stable tutor to the boy, is at least at ease in his part. He plays it with a literal quietness that demands little of him—nothing, really, except to be clever around horses—but he is visually credible. Myrna Loy and Shepperd Strudwick, Tom's mother and father, are at a loss to keep themselves busy and they perform with a stiff embarrassment that makes you look away from the screen. The Indian-fighter grandpa was an awkward embellishment to Steinbeck's tale; played by Louis Calhern behind a quantity of white crepe beard, he is a foolish intrusion.

The visceral sentimentality of Steinbeck's story should never have been attempted on the screen without a child who could be trusted to keep his feelings simple and direct. Miles seems to interpret an adult concept of childhood, and the result, for all the sincerity of the effort, looks like one of Disney's nostalgic travesties.

"Alias Nick Beal" is perhaps the cutest title of the year. It sounds like gangster stuff, and when you know that Thomas Mitchell plays a tough district attorney and Ray Milland his sinister foe, the evidence seems complete. But Nick Beal is really Old Nick, or if you prefer, Beelzebub, and here we are back again with Faust and Daniel Webster.

The trouble with the picture is that the audience penetrates the masquerade in about fifteen minutes and must then sit cracking its thumbs for another hour while the actors stumble around the truth. There is no dramatic suspense left to the struggle with the devil. It is agreed that you haven't got a chance unless you know who he is, but that as soon as you do the escape is childishly simple. A bit of garlic will do the trick or—as in this case—you just shake the Good Book at him.

Milland makes a gentlemanly Lucifer; his evil aura is a fine work of subtle and ironic understatement. Mitchell struggles with evil in a mature portrayal worthy of a more original problem. But the film is too fancy (you can't see a lot of it for dense fog) and leans altogether too heavily on obvious and repetitious camera trickery.

The ingredients of "Outcry" are the ones to which we are now accustomed in Italian films. The hero is a man just beyond his youth, tired, confused, dressed in an old pair of trousers and a jacket of distant military origin. The heroine, much stronger, much surer than he, seems to hold out peace; she promises less to be his mistress than to be a mother to his children and to him. The Partisans are beardless boys with cigarettes hanging from their mouths, the Germans are sadistic fops. There is a sympathetic peasant priest, there are old people with superb, carved faces and little children who seem to run undirected through the scenes; there is the cold, sunless photography so unlike the image most of us have of Italy..

With this almost stock material, the

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producers of "Outcry" have done nothing that hasn't been done better in films that arrived here earlier, but they were perhaps advancing a political viewpoint that is more important to Italians than to outsiders. If some of the earlier pictures were Communist-oriented in their approach to social conflict, "Outcry" is rather nationalist and opposed to the class struggle, though still well Left of Center.

Its position is clear from the function of the gentry in the plot. The owners appear at the outset as venal, selfish, given to shrugging their shoulders at the unpleasant necessity for supporting a black market and dealing with the boorish Germans. But as the issue is joined, as the Partisans gather themselves for the kill, the effete bourgeois remind themselves that they too are Italians, and in the end, though weak, they serve as best they can. The decisions they make stem from the will of the producers, not from anything inherent in plot or characters. The bosses, like almost everyone in the picture, move under a kind of dramatic mesmerism that is the hallmark of the propaganda theatre.

The film is quite well directed from moment to moment but over-all so badly planned, so clumsily edited, that it would be hopelessly confusing to anyone unfamiliar with the pattern of Italian screen work. ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Russian Artists

SIR: Joseph Lash's article, "Artists and Bureaucrats" (the *NR*, January 10), contains a number of factual errors which, while not destroying the value of his main thesis, cause the Soviet scene to be shown in darker colors than the facts warrant.

It is not true that Zoshchenko's work has been barred from publication. He has published stories since Zhdanov's censure and is believed to be under contract for more.

It is not true that film producers have been ordered to stop making films on historical themes. Among others, such distinguished directors as Pudovkin, Dovzhenko and Gerasimov have been working on historical-biographical films recently.

It is a gross over-simplification of the Communist Party's views on films to say that every film has to be connected with the Five-Year Plan. How can Lash reconcile this statement with the success of films like "Village Teacher," "Symphony of Life," "Spring" and "The Train Goes East"?

It is not true that Wilde's "An Ideal Husband" has been dropped from Soviet repertories. It remains one of the most popular plays at the Moscow Art Theatre. "Lady Windermere's Fan" is in rehearsal at Tairov's Kamerny Theatre.

Finally, it is not true that the famous collection of pictures in the Gallery of Modern Western Art has been stored away. In 1946 I saw about one-half of the collection, including the early Picassos, and many of the pictures by Matisse, Renoir, Cézanne, Gauguin and Dérain in the permanent collection of the Hermitage Gallery in Leningrad. Recently I was told that the remainder of the collection was shortly to be hung in the Pushkin Gallery of Fine Arts in Moscow.

Moscow, USSR RALPH PARKER

SIR: 1. After an appropriate period of penance following his expulsion from the Soviet Writers' Union, Zoshchenko's work began to appear again.

2. *Culture and Life*, reporting on a Central Committee decree concerning film production, stated that for a two-year period the film industry had to stress valor in war and each subject had to be connected in some manner with the importance of the Five-Year Plan.

3. "Lady Windermere's Fan" was not mentioned in the article; as for "An Ideal Husband," it was denounced for degeneracy and decadence, reprieved by a two-column article in *Pravda* which said it demonstrated the corruption of British imperialism, and a few months later was again under heavy attack.

4. Ralph Parker, the *Daily Worker's* Moscow correspondent, may have seen some French modernists on exhibition in Leningrad in 1946. Gerasimov, the painter-laureate, was quoted in 1947 to the effect that the collection of French impressionists would not be reopened. This is confirmed by Robert Magidoff's new book, *In Anger and Pity*.

Readers will agree that Mr. Parker's corrections, where they stand up, do not impair, as he himself concedes, the value of the main thesis.

New York City JOSEPH P. LASH

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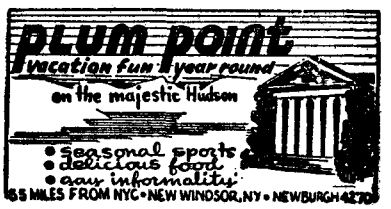
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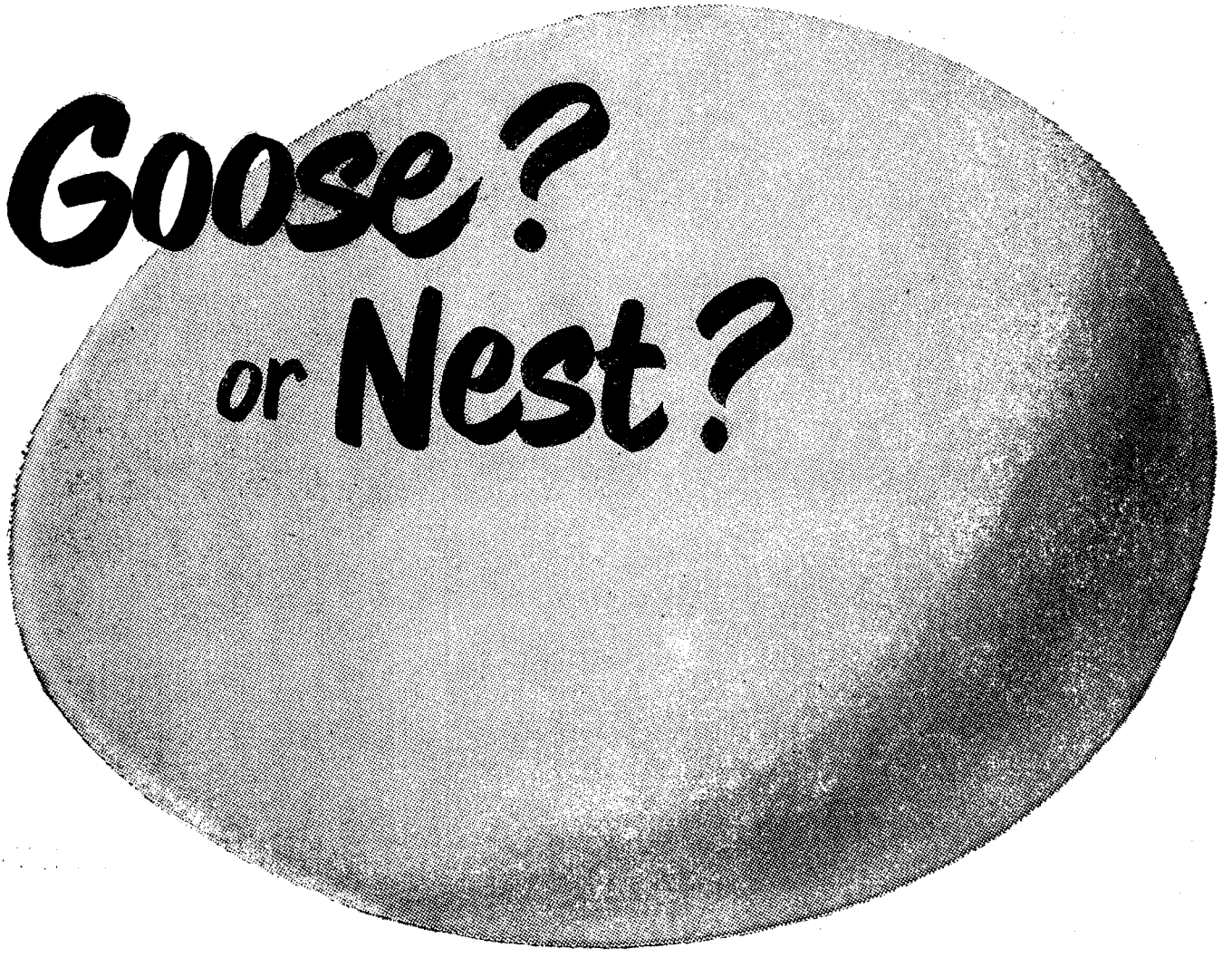

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